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SUN DANCE OF THE PLAINS INDIANS

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CLARK WISSLER



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CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT H. LOWIE

J. R. WALKER

CLARK WISSLER

PLINY EARLE GODDARD

ALANSON SKINNER

W. D. WALLIS

LESLIE SPIER

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Owing to the great length of time required for the completion of the necessary field-work, it was considered advisable to issue this volume in parts at such intervals as the progress of the work permitted. Accordingly, the following parts were issued with temporary title pages and covers:—

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

The sun dance of the Plains Indian tribes is their most striking ceremonial procedure. It is the only one of their many ritualistic complexes that rises to the level of a tribal ceremony. While we usually think of these Indians as nomadic, drifting here and there in the wake of the bison herd, it is well to remember that this nomadism was limited, in the main, to the summer months. Most of the Plains tribes lived north of what is now Oklahoma, a vast stretch of open plain over which the fierce winds of the Canadian Northwest swept unchecked. The reader familiar with the winters of the Dakotas, Montana, Wyoming, Nebraska, and Kansas will doubtless agree that the life of a nomad at such times would be anything but joyful. So we may be prepared to learn that during the winter season, it was the rule that these tribes separated into their constituent bands and went into permanent winter quarters. The camping places were more or less fixed, generally along a stream, amongst the trees and brush, in spots well sheltered from the winds. Here they eked out an existence as best they could until summer returned, when, in conformity to a previous understanding, the bands of each tribe came together and went upon a grand hunt. Then food was plenty, feasting and social activities became the rule, as the great cavalcade shifted hither and thither with the bison. It is in the nature of things that such a grand picnic should culminate in a great ceremony, or religious festival, in which the whole group might function. This ceremony was the sun dance.

In this brief glimpse of Plains Indian culture and the setting of the sun dance, may be seen the justification for devoting a volume to its investigation. At least, no discussion of Plains culture could be considered comprehensive without due consideration to this ceremony and to its significance. Further, the Plains Indians as a culture group, when considered apart from their individual traits, stand as a type phenomenon in culture. We have, therefore, good reason to expect that the collection of the essential facts concerning this ceremonial complex and their preservation in a volume as concrete data, will be a contribution to knowledge and a source to which future investigators of such subjects will turn in lieu of direct observation, since it is one of the peculiarities of our subject that its data are in the nature of historical events and must, if preserved at all, be reduced to record. It has, therefore, been our first aim to collect the data on this ceremony from each of the tribes concerned. In this respect the accompanying volume is a companion to Volume XI of this series, dealing with the Societies of the Plains Indians,

since these organizations are no less typical of Plains culture than the sun dance itself. A glance at the distribution map for the former and then at the map for the sun dance, will suffice to show that these two complexes are of approximately equal significance in the cultures of the area. As further evidence of this we need but to note that these societies also functioned fully only when the whole tribe was assembled for the summer hunt and the celebrating of the sun dance.

We see then that the general problem is the same as in the preceding volume: viz., the consideration of the facts of distribution and historical statement to the end that the origin of the sun dance complex may be discovered and the mode and mechanism of its subsequent diffusion over the area made clear. We believe the data recorded in the succeeding pages, together with the published accounts of others, will lend themselves to such treatment as well as to many other types of investigation. As an illustration of the possibilities inherent in the data, we append to the volume a general discussion by Doctor Leslie Spier. From this study it appears that the sun dance took its present form at the hands of one or more tribes at the center of the area and was thence diffused outward. It is interesting to note, that whereas the society complex seemed to have taken its final form at the hands of the Hidatsa and Mandan tribes, (Vol. XI), the sun dance centers with the Arapaho and Cheyenne. As the map stands these two centers are widely separated, but there are not wanting indications that in the past and at a time when these ceremonies were taking form, both the Arapaho and the Cheyenne were close neighbors of the Hidatsa and Mandan. In other words, it was in the small group of centrally located tribes that these two complexes arose. Further, it is well to note that the sun dance was brought forth by the more nomadic group, whereas the highly systematized scheme of age-graded societies emerged from the more sedentary village group. On the other hand, the initial societies themselves may have arisen outside the village group among the more restless tribes, to be later fused into a system at the hands of the villagers. It is equally probable that many of the integral parts of the sun dance complex arose beyond the normal range of the Arapaho and Cheyenne, or even beyond the borders of the Plains. As to these origins, we can draw but doubtful inferences, but our data do enable us to deal with the complex in a satisfactory manner from the time when it took form at the hands of its originators down to the present, its approximate extinction, as exemplified in Dr. Spier's discussion. For the details of his method and its evaluation, the reader is referred to the final paper in this volume.

One phase of the problem not seriously considered in these studies is the approximate date of origin and the relative rate of diffusion for these complexes over the area. For one thing, it is shown, that many of the elements in each complex are older than the complex itself. Thus, the Bull society is certainly older than the age-grade system of which it is a part, but on the other hand, there is reason to believe that the age-grade system reached several tribes before they knew of this society. Again, so far as the data go, the sun dance complex seems to have been diffused independent of the torture feature, an element probably contributed later by the Siouan tribes from their older individual culture. The impression, therefore, grows that both the age-grade complex and the sun dance in their historic forms are relatively recent constructs, more recent, for example, than the origin of the separate tribal groups as herein enumerated. However, this is not the place to enter into an analysis of the data to the end that time-relations for the several parts of the complex may be discovered; these suggestions being offered solely as an example of how the data here presented may lend themselves to the solution of important problems.

Our knowledge of the sun dance may be said to begin with Catlin, though the first mention of such a ceremony, as described in this volume, appears in the writings of Charles Mackenzie (1805) under the designation "Great Festival." Doubtless there are other references of this vague character, but the use of the term "sun dance" seems to appear first in Catlin's account of a ceremony observed by him at the mouth of the Teton River in 1833, as performed by a division of the Dakota. This author's rendering of the name as "looking at the sun" dance is a good translation for the Dakota name of the ceremony. A few years later Mrs. Eastman (1849) described the ceremony under the name of sun dance, and from that time on the corresponding ceremony for each and every Plains tribe was given this convenient classificatory name, though, as the reader will see, few of these tribes followed the Dakota custom of gazing at the sun, or so much as referred to the sun in the procedure. Nevertheless, though the use of the term is thus misleading in that it implies sun worship as the basic concept in the ceremony, the name is so firmly fixed in literature and in current usage that it must be retained; and little harm will be done if the reader fixes in his mind a tribal ceremonial complex, embracing practically the whole religious activity of the group, expressing itself in a great formal celebration. While, as the several discussions in this volume show, there are several outstanding features to this procedure, no one of them so dominates as to give a

satisfactory classificatory name. So it is perhaps best as it is, that historical events have firmly attached the Dakota name to the ceremony, referring to the one element emphasized by the tribes of that group. For additional historical data the reader is referred to the accompanying papers.

Turning now to the history of this investigation, it had its inception in a systematic ethnographic survey of the Plains area, organized by the Department of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History in 1907. The data were gathered simultaneously with that upon other aspects of culture, but are presented in this segregated form for convenience of treatment and comprehension. It was assumed that any typical trait, having a primary function in Plains culture, would present a type complex upon whose investigation attention might, for the time being, be concentrated. Nevertheless, each field-worker was at the time engaged in the study of a specific tribal culture, a necessary prerequisite to the proper comprehension of the given complex. Thus, it should be understood that these papers are not isolated studies made by persons otherwise quite unfamiliar with the respective tribal culture as a whole, but are, after all, integral parts of comprehensive discussions dealing with the specific tribal cultures from which they are taken. The field-work, as projected, called for cooperative effort in that a number of investigators worked toward a common end, while at the same time each treated his specific tribal unit independently. Thus, it can scarcely be maintained that the data were gathered under an individual bias, as would have been the case had a single investigator set himself the task of solving the sun dance problem, and then visited each tribe in turn. Not only would this procedure have narrowed the culture perspective of the investigator but might easily have limited the inquiry to specific aspects of the problem. Then rather are these papers on the sun dance to be regarded as a part of our contribution to the cultures of the Indians of the Plains, to be treated under convenient topics in the several volumes of this series.

This survey noted above was entered upon systematically in 1907 and continued until 1916. During this interval the following tribes were visited, Arapaho, Assiniboin, Blackfoot, Crow, Dakota, Hidatsa-Mandan, Iowa, Kansa, Kiowa, Paiute, Plains-Cree, Plains-Ojibway, Sarsi, Shoshoni, Ute. For the sake of perspective, the work was extended to some of the border tribes, as the Beaver, Chipewyan, Eastern Cree, Menomini, Potawatomi, Saulteaux, and Winnebago. This list is not quite inclusive of all the tribes of the Plains area, for such as were

under investigation by other institutions were not visited. Among these are the Cheyenne, Kiowa, Omaha, and Osage. For these, and even many of the tribes visited, there were available the observations of earlier investigators cited in the bibliography at the end of the volume.

December, 1921

CLARK WISSLER.

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THE SUN DANCE OF THE CROW INDIANS.

BY
ROBERT H. LOWIE.

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This paper is the first of a volume treating of the sun dance of the Plains Indians. There will follow discussions of the ceremony as performed by the Blackfoot, Hidatsa, Dakota, Plains-Cree, Plains-Ojibway, Shoshone, and perhaps other tribes. At the close of the volume there will be an analytic and comparative study of the sun dance based upon these and previous publications.

EDITOR.

THE SUN DANCE OF THE CROW.

BY ROBERT H. LOWIE.

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PREFACE.

The last Crow sun dance dates back to about forty years ago, for with the old warfare disappeared the sole *raison d'être* of the performance from the Crow point of view. The notes presented in this paper are therefore not at all based on personal observation. Moreover, as none of the main performers survived to the time when I began my inquiries in 1907, the following account is based on the statements of mere eye-witnesses and participants who played a minor part. Within the limitations thus imposed, the data seem satisfactory. I recorded independent descriptions of the entire ceremony by Gray-bull, Muskrat, Bear-gets-up, the Fire-weasel couple, Bear-crane, and others; and the accounts given in 1910 by the two informants heading this list were checked by having them repeat their narratives from beginning to end in the following summer. Ralph Saco (Bighorn District), Henry Russel (Pryor), Robert Yellowtail (Lodge Grass), and James Carpenter (Lodge Grass) are the interpreters who assisted me during this work. I am under special obligations to James Carpenter, who spared no pains in ascertaining additional facts from various native authorities and gave me the benefit of the information thus obtained by his own efforts.

I am acquainted with only two published accounts of the Crow sun dance. The earlier description by Clark in *The Indian Sign Language* (pp. 135-136) is very brief but gives a correct notion of the fundamental features. Curtis' far more detailed account in *The North American Indian* (iv, pp. 67ff.) deserves high praise. On all essential points it stands corroborated by subsequent investigation.

May, 1915.

INTRODUCTION.

The Crow *acki'cirûa*, which corresponds to the sun dance of other Plains tribes, was not a periodical ceremony. It was pledged only whenever a mourner was especially eager to avenge the killing of a close relative by a hostile tribe. In order to attain this end, the mourner or "whistler" (*ak'ô'oce*), as he was called, had to obtain the vision of a vanquished enemy, implying a promise that he immediately set out to see fulfilled. The requisite vision was secured through a sacred effigy known as the *marê'wirExbâ'k'e*, offering (?) doll, which forms the most important object in the ceremony. The owner of the doll (*ak'bâ+ê'Extsia* = charmer?) accordingly acted as master of ceremonies; and he and the whistler must be regarded as the only performers theoretically essential to the ceremony.

That the central idea in the performance was indeed the desire for revenge, is proved by the fact that the ceremony closed with the supernatural revelation sought. In an exceptional instance referred to by many informants even the vision proved unnecessary: one of the enemy had been caught and killed in camp on the first night of the ceremony proper, and this immediately put a stop to the proceedings. The native interpretation of this case is that the whistler was unusually fortunate in thus having the period of his suffering terminated at the very start.

The basic conception thus outlined is so different from what is currently associated with the words "sun dance" that it may seem unwarrantable to apply the term to the Crow ceremony. Here, however, we must draw a distinction between the esoteric and the exoteric aspects of the dance. From the whistler's and doll owner's point of view, the *acki'cirûa* was indeed solely or primarily a means to revenge; but for the tribe at large it was a tremendous spectacle, an occasion for general social and individual religious activity. Many of the exoteric features bear a resemblance to corresponding elements of alien sun dances that is quite convincing as to their having sprung from the same source. There can be no doubt that these spectacular external features are the ones that have in the past led writers to attach the convenient label "sun dance" to a number of Plains Indian ceremonies. Accordingly, the extension of the term to the Crow *acki'cirûa* is unexceptionable so long as we mean merely that some of the elements of the Crow ceremony are historically connected with elements of other "sun dances." Beyond this nothing is implied. For example, it is not at all clear that the Crow ceremony had very much to do with the sun.

The native name, *acki'cirûa* was said to refer to a miniature lodge such as is used by children when playing. According to several interpretations, to be sure, the significance of the term in this connection is that the lodge erected was regarded as a miniature representation of the sun's lodge. This interpretation, however, was by no means unanimous. Sharp-horn, for example, denied any connection with the sun, and several informants thought that the customary English rendering of *acki'cirûa* had been suggested by the name of a corresponding ceremony in some other tribe, such as the Dakota.

The historical relations of the Crow sun dance to that of other tribes will, of course, be clearer after the descriptive section of this paper. For a psychological understanding a word on its relation to Crow culture generally seems necessary.

The Crow sun dance being, from the main performer's point of view, nothing but a quest for revenge, we must inquire how it compares with other Crow attempts to wreak vengeance on the enemy. Now, we find that among the Crow *all* movements against hostile tribes were based on dreams or visions. These the visionary accepted as a promise of achievement that was to be made real either by himself or by the leader who had sought his aid. In the latter case the visionary equipped his disciple with some or all of his mysterious powers and objects, and the two regarded each other as "son" and "father" respectively. In the sun dance this same relationship obtained between the whistler and the doll owner, and as in the preparations for a normal war party the "son" tried to attain his end through his "father's" medicine. The only difference is that in the sun dance it was not the medicineman but the disciple that experienced a revelation, but this is hardly significant since the war captains themselves might have secondary visions specifying the exact conditions under which enemies were to be killed. The particular medicines employed in war parties varied with the visionary's revelations. From this point of view, the sun dance might be characterized as that form of war medicine ritual in which the aim was attained through the magic powers of a doll. But this would constitute a difference only in detail, not in principle, since it is not necessarily greater than that between two ordinary war medicines. Considering the method of securing a vision, we also encounter familiar features. Mortification of the flesh was the common way to arouse the compassion of the supernatural powers, who were thus induced to grant the supplicant a vision with promise of success and well-being. Here again there is nothing distinctive in the whistler's procedure: at bottom he did nothing but what any mourner in quest of revenge might do without undertaking a sun dance.

We might therefore picture the Crow sun dance as composed of two

fundamentally independent and but loosely interrelated procedures. On the one hand, there is a complex of social activities shared with other tribes, and therefore possibly of foreign origin; on the other hand, an individual's quest for supernatural aid against the enemy,— a thing likewise in no way peculiar to the Crow when taken by itself, but peculiar to them as the core of the sun dance celebration. On the one hand, we see the aged warriors recounting or acting out their deeds and the entire male population waging mock-warfare against the symbolic tree; lovers philander freely amidst the license of the period; and the virtuous are rewarded with the honor of special duties in the ceremony. But apart from the din of camp activity the whistler, assisted by the doll owner, prepares for the dance in the lodge, his mind fixed only on the consummation of his purpose.

Yet, though this picture would not be wholly wrong, it is probably no more than a rationalistic simplification of the facts. It is, indeed, likely that to the onlooker the sun dance was merely a spectacular performance on the grandest scale within the tribal comprehension. But it is hardly conceivable that the feelings of the whistler should have remained unaffected by such a display of tribal activity. This activity he could indeed wilfully disregard, but its effects could not be wiped from his consciousness. And in so far as the knowledge of it entered into and modified his consciousness the sun dance ceased to be even for him a purely personal religious quest, and his psychological attitude was transformed from that of religious exaltation to that union of social and religious factors known as ceremonialism.¹

THE VOW.

As stated in the Introduction, there was only one reason for the performance of a sun dance. A man who had lost a child or younger brother — more rarely an elder brother — killed by the enemy, might decide to show the excess of his grief by undergoing the hardest form of mourning, which would at the same time lead to a vision of retaliation, to be followed by a fulfillment of the promise involved in the vision. Such a man would not express his intentions immediately. For a while he would fast on the prairies and mourn, no one as yet knowing what he was about. After some time he would hear a herald announcing to the camp that the people were to

¹ Cf. my articles on "The Crow Sun Dance" (*Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXVII, 1914, pp. 94-96) and "Ceremonialism" (*American Anthropologist*, XII, 1914, pp. 602-631).

hunt buffalo and get meat for themselves. When he heard this proclamation, the mourner would call the first person who came near him and ask him to send for the chief. The chief came to look at the mourner, who was emaciated and would not look at the chief. "On this hunt," the mourner would say, "I want you to have the hunters keep all the tongues, do not let the children eat any; I want them all." The chief went back and issued an order through the herald who cried: "Save all tongues, he is going to cut ankles!" The pledger's name was not mentioned. Then the people knew what was going to happen. The mourner no longer stayed away after telling the chief, but returned to camp the same night.

Other informants say that the man who wished to make a sun dance, when having his hair cut for mourning, would say to the haircutter, "Leave a little hair on my head, so that I shall be able to tie a feather to it." The haircutter spread the news about camp, and thus all the people learned of the mourner's pledge.

Since it was purely optional with a mourner to pledge the sun dance, it was performed at irregular intervals. And as it involved unusual hardship, there were relatively few mourners who made the vow. Old-dog estimated the number of sun dances he had witnessed at no less than thirty, and Bear-gets-up said he had seen twenty, but these estimates are at variance with those of the oldest informants, who counted no more than thirteen.¹ From comparing different statements I have arrived at the conclusion that during the interval between 1830 and 1874 sun dances were not more frequent than once every three or four years. On the whole, the River Crow and Mountain Crow seem to have had distinct performances, but there is evidence that the two bands sometimes joined for a common ceremony.

THE COLLECTION OF BUFFALO TONGUES.

As stated in the preceding section, the mourner requested the chief to have all the buffalo tongues saved. He required the tongues both in order to compensate those who performed certain special services and also because he was expected to entertain the people at noon during the entire course of the ceremony. In an exceptional instance noted by Bear-gets-up, Big-shade, as whistler, could not get a vision until the sixth day. Accordingly, the supply of tongues was completely exhausted before the close of

¹ Young-crane, a River Crow about eighty years of age, enumerated six, and Strikes-both-ways, the oldest Crow living in 1911, recollected only five.

the dance, and he was obliged to feast his guests with *bā`rice'*, a kind of dried meat.

When the people set out on the hunt, the mourner was far ahead of them, though always afoot. He wore nothing but moccasins and a buffalo robe. Sometimes the people were lucky enough to find buffalo very soon, at other times it would take them many days. When they finally got to a herd, the young men were requested to kill the game and take only the tongues. Thus, a large number of tongues was secured.

The essential point in what followed was that the tongues obtained were collected, arranged in sets, and re-distributed among prominent warriors who were to have them sliced and dried. As to the details the accounts vary.

According to Muskrat, two men, one of whom had had his locks cut, started out with pack-horses from opposite sides of the camp circle, each accompanied by one attendant. The attendants would peep into every lodge on their way and collect the tongues, which had already been prepared for them. When the two parties met, they crossed each other's paths, turned about, talked, and marched along a diameter of the camp circle to a tent, furnished only with spreads, on which the tongues were unloaded, while two old men were singing songs of joy. The mourner had summoned his relatives to this lodge, where the tongues were strung together in tens, five on each side, and packed on the same horses that had brought them. Then the collectors retraced their steps and unloaded one set of tongues at every war captain's lodge, where the captains' wives laid them on their best blankets. Finally, the two parties again went back along the same diametrical path and unsaddled their horses, which closed this part of the proceedings.

According to Big-snake, there were eight men who gathered the tongues, two of them leading the horses and the rest actually getting the tongues from the people. When they had done collecting, they decided on the bravest men, who would number about twenty, and redistributed the tongues in sets as described above. Gray-bull says that the tongue-gathering party embraced five or six men who had accompanied the mourned-for man on the fatal war party.¹ After the collection, the men went outside the circle and stood there chatting for a while. When re-approaching the camp, they called out aloud the names of distinguished warriors, bidding them prepare by spreading robes. During this procession songs of joy were sung, and as the famous men's dwellings were passed the collectors dropped tongues on robes laid outside the lodges in obedience to their request.

¹ This is confirmed by Fire-weasel's wife.

Bear-crane's version does not specifically refer to comrades of the slain man. It makes the mourner borrow five or six horses from as many men, who led them behind the doll owner, who in turn followed the mourner on this tongue-gathering procession. The doll owner's face was painted black to symbolize in customary Crow fashion the killing of an enemy and thus express a hope for the realization of this event. He sang a glad song and shook a rattle; he also gave the mourner his straight-pipe, facing toward the camp.

A single hunt did not always suffice to secure the desired number of tongues, which some informants set at one thousand. Indeed, according to Gray-bull four successive hunts were customary, after all of which the method of procedure was identical except that the first and third time tongues were redistributed among strikers of coups, while after the second and fourth collections the tongues were given to the men who had stolen enemies' horses. Bear-crane says that it was optional with the mourner to demand a second hunt. After the first collection his opinion was asked for, and after some deliberations he would say that another hunt was, or was not, necessary. In the former case, a herald was ordered to make a corresponding announcement. Big-snake seems to think that four hunts were proper, but that it depended on circumstances whether there were two or four.

THE DOLL AND THE DOLL OWNER.

As the desired vision was secured only through a sacred doll, the mourner was obliged to enlist the services of one of the men who owned such dolls. This seems to have taken place after the collection, but before the redistribution, of the tongues. The mourner decided which doll owner to choose for master of ceremonies, and approached him with a filled straight-pipe, asking him to smoke. The medicineman accepted the office with the pipe, thereby adopting the mourner as his son. Sometimes the "son" would try to buy the doll bundle outright from his ceremonial father, but it happened very rarely that an owner consented to sell, and then only for a high price.

Bear-crane knew of six men who had owned distinct dolls, Lone-tree of five, while Young Crane named four owners: Wrinkled-face (Pretty-enemy's deceased husband); Braided-tail; I+ā'kac; and Wandering-old-man. Even apart from spurious effigies made on the basis of a merely pretended revelation (see p. 49), these dolls were not of equal efficacy. According to all Lodge Grass informants and most others, the doll owned by Wrinkled-

face took precedence not only of the rest, but of all other Crow medicines whatsoever.

The last-mentioned doll was not supposed to be handled by a woman. When an elderly Indian learned that Pretty-enemy (Wrinkled-face's widow) had unwrapped it for me, he prophesied that she herself, or some of her relatives, would die in consequence. Whether a like taboo extended to the other dolls, I do not know; the contrary is indicated in one account.

The only purpose originally served by the medicine dolls apart from the sun dance confirms the view that this ceremony was essentially a preparation for warlike achievement. Gray-bull says that the doll bundle was sometimes opened before a party set out on the warpath. The doll was then addressed in prayer, and occasionally a feather from the bundle was taken along. Birds-all-over-the-ground gave more specific information. A man going on the warpath sometimes came to a doll owner and paid him some property in order to get good luck. In such a case the owner unwrapped the doll, made a smaller imitation of it, tied the latter to a little willow hoop, and smoked it with sweetgrass incense from a charcoal fire. He also put a string over the buyer's neck (for suspension of the doll?). If the warrior struck a horse in the next battle, he gave the doll owner a horse and returned the doll to him. After he had done this four times, however, he merely gave the owner a horse, and kept the doll for himself. This method of procedure tallies exactly with that followed by a young man desirous of obtaining a reputation and approaching a tribesman renowned for his war medicines.¹ More recently old men were wont to visit Pretty-enemy, requested to see the doll, unwrapped it, and presumably addressed it in supplication.

The origin of medicine dolls is thus accounted for by Birds-all-over-the-ground.

Andficioꝑc was the first discoverer of a medicine doll. He was very poor, having lost his parents while a boy. The Indians were moving toward the site of Billings. Andficioꝑc went to the highest peak there, where he fasted for two days and two nights. On the third morning a little bird came to the foot of the place where he was resting, and said to him, "Look towards the west, across Mt. I'ēuxpēc." He looked and beheld seven men and one woman who was standing in front of them. Several of the men were beating drums painted with the representation of a skunk. The woman wore an elk-hide blanket and was holding a doll before her face. They began to sing. Andficioꝑc could hear them plainly, and learned the songs. For a moment Andficioꝑc looked round, and when he had turned back again the singers had drawn nearer, standing now on the top of a high hill. After a while he looked away again, and when he turned back, they were moving on the top of a bluff between the sites of Park City and Absaroka. Again he looked away, and did not see

¹ This series, vol. 9, *Social Life of the Crow Indians*, p. 232.

them again until he heard a noise at the foot of his bed, where the seven men and the woman suddenly appeared. The woman stood in front, holding the doll in both hands. One of the men addressed the others: "We live so far away, and have come so far to see this boy; we are tired." The woman in the elk-hide robe was the moon. They sang again. The doll was tied up in a buckskin envelope. At the end of the first song, the head of the doll suddenly popped out of its own accord. A second song was sung. The moon shook the doll at the boy, and stepped back. Then the doll came out of its cover far enough to expose its arms. At the end of the third song, it exposed its waist. After the fourth song, the woman stepped forward and then back again. The doll came out completely in the guise of a screech-owl, and sat down on the moon's hand. The boy was at this time lying straight on his back. The screech-owl flew about, and then perched on Andfcicôpc's breast. Suddenly one of the men loaded and cocked a breechloader, then he stepped toward the boy and sang a song. The woman said to the screech-owl, "Now, little screech-owl, this man is going to shoot you, you must make your medicine." It stood up on its feet, and began to flap its wings. The man drew closer, and shot at the owl, which entered his breast and began to hoot inside. Andfcicôpc looked towards the northeast. In the valley he saw a sun dance lodge. The seven men and moon got up, singing and beating their drums. They moved towards the lodge, making four stops on the way and singing a song each time. After the end of the fourth song, they entered the lodge. Andfcicôpc looked through the lodge and saw the doll attached to a cedar tree on the north side of the lodge. At the foot of the tree he saw the whistler lying flat on his back. The seven men sang four songs again. Moon went to the whistler, and seized him by both hands. At each song she raised him slightly, then put him back to his former position, but the fourth time she pulled him up completely. Moon then stepped up to the doll and gave it to the whistler, who held it in both hands. After a short time he put it back in its place. They sang and danced, facing the medicine doll. Thus the doll was discovered, and whenever anyone wished to have a sun dance he requested the visionary to direct the ceremony. The doll represents the moon-woman, and the lodge the sun's lodge.¹

Sharp-horn gave the following fragmentary data with regard to I+ã'-kac's doll and his own (see p. 15).

The sun dance was started by a Crow named I+ã'kac. One day he went up to the highest part of the mountains near Yellowstone Park. There he fasted and abstained from drink for five or six days. Finally he saw the sun dance and the doll in it. The lodge was very large, and was painted with four black streaks extending from top to bottom. When he returned, he was very lean and weak, and his lips were sore. He told the people that if an enemy came to the lodge at night they must kill him. One day an enemy was found sitting in the lodge unarmed. The Crow killed and scalped him, and then danced and rejoiced over his death. When a person wanted to have a sun dance on account of a relative's death, he came to I+ã'kac. I+ã'kac painted his everyday lodge to represent the sun dance lodge: the upper half was painted black, and four streaks ran down to the ground, one on either side of the door, and the others more to the east and west, respectively.

¹ Bear-gets-up said the doll owner had a vision of the sun. This is interesting in view of other statements that the ceremony was not at all connected with the sun (p. 8).

The doll described on p. 15 ff. was revealed to Sharp-horn's brother, who went up a mountain after one of his brothers had been killed by the enemy. After four days he heard the beating of drums inside the mountain. Someone was calling out aloud: "Everyone, come in! They are going to have a sun dance here!" Someone came out, and took the visionary inside, where he saw the dance. Thus he became a medicineman and afterwards made a doll in accordance with what he had seen in his vision. He bequeathed it to Sharp-horn, and if there were still enemies in existence my informant would still feel entitled to make a sun dance.

Another informant ¹ furnished the following statements with regard to Bear-from-above's doll.

This doll was discovered by an old woman, no one knows where or how. She made and kept it all her life, and told people that this doll had a big lodge. Being a woman, however, she could not erect a lodge. The doll entered her body and she took it out only just before her death. She made four dolls in all, which were inherited by her son. When he died, one of the dolls came into the possession of Bear-from-above's father, a brother of the former owner. Then it was inherited by Bear-from-above, who kept it until his wife's death, when he buried it with the corpse. Probably the old woman who discovered the doll was the only one that ever saw all of it. In later times, when they wished to look at the doll, they first took cedar leaves and made incense over a charcoal fire, and then unwrapped the doll, but so as not to expose anything but the head and shoulders. The face looked like that of a doll baby; it was painted yellowish and red. Bear-from-above, being a doll owner, might have conducted a sun dance, but he never did so. He placed it on the outside of his tipi, and no one touched it; there it remained so long as the Crow camped in the same locality. When Bear-from-above had dreamt to that effect, he took the doll down on the following morning, smoked it with cedar-leaf incense, spread a blanket and laid the doll on it, unwrapped it as described above, and finally replaced it. Only on such occasions did he unwrap the doll. The two owners preceding Bear-from-above had conducted sun dance ceremonies.

Of the doll figured in Fig. 1 Muskrat said that it was revealed to Little-son when he was mourning for a brother's death. Little-son passed it on to his brother, and he to Akékuc. It was inherited by Akékuc's brother, and through his death it passed into the possession of his wife, Pretty-enemy.

I have seen two dolls, the one owned by Sharp-horn, and another which I purchased of Pretty-enemy.

At Pryor, Sharp-horn showed me a buckskin doll. It was smaller than Pretty-enemy's, being probably not more than five inches in length, and seemed to be of much more recent origin. The body was triangular, tapering toward the bottom. A belt encircled the waist, and on the breast there was a rectangular cross of greenish-blue beads, two rows to each arm, which

¹ I am not sure whether this was Bear-from-above himself.

represented the morningstar. The neck was completely covered with a strip of weaselskin. The head was painted with small circles for eyes, and a mouth; the place of the nose was taken by the lower half of the vertical



Fig. 1 (50.1-4011a). Sun Dance Doll.

arm of a morningstar design precisely similar to that noted on the breast, except for its lesser size. The entire figure was almost covered out of sight with a profusion of owl feathers. Some shells and strips of skin were attached to the back. Near the center of a twisted string serving for sus-

pension, there was attached a little bag stuffed with tobacco. This bag was constricted into two fairly spherical halves, the upper and smaller of which was decorated with blue beads and from its form might have been taken for a head, though Sharp-horn did not know that it was meant for one. Sharp-horn said that the doll was stuffed with parts of herbs and roots, as well as with tobacco seeds. The bundle from which the doll was taken also contained a large globular buffalo-hide rattle. The outside of the rectangular bag containing the doll was painted on one side with the design in Fig. 2.

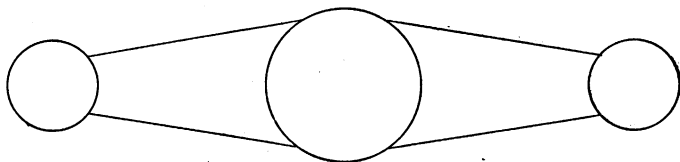


Fig. 2. Decoration on Sharp-horn's Doll Bag.

The lateral figures, according to Sharp-horn, represented persons. He did not know the meaning of the central circle; Plenty-coups suggested that it might represent a lodge.

The doll purchased for the Museum (Fig. 1) formed part of a bundle, all of which was enclosed in a rectangular rawhide bag (Fig. 3). A duplicate

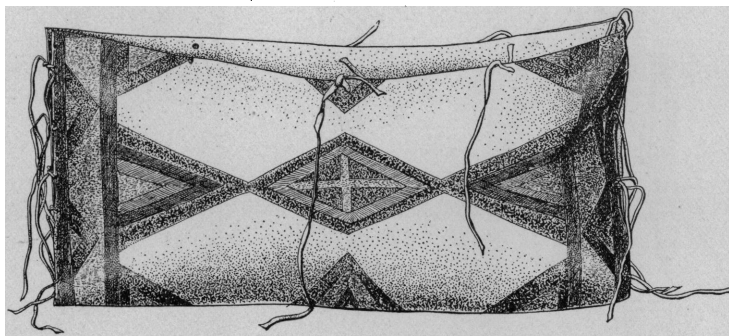


Fig. 3 (50.1-4011c). Doll Envelope, which contained the doll in Fig. 1, and all the objects shown in Figs. 4, 5, 7, 8.

of lesser value was said to have been buried with the owner's husband. Owing to the fact that Pretty-enemy, being a woman, had never even unwrapped the bundle prior to the negotiations with me, her information as to the contents of the bag was very unsatisfactory, and since the fact of the purchase was to be kept secret her statements could not be supplemented by directly questioning others. The doll was only used on two occasions,—by some braves who unwrapped it and prayed to it before setting out on a

war party, and in the sun dance, where it became a living person for those gazing at it. The lower part of the doll is covered by a piece of buffalo skin with the hairy side on the inside. Eyes and mouth are crudely marked in black; on the body, front and back, were a number of rectangular crosses (already partly faded in 1910) which represented the morningstar. The head is topped with a profusion of plumes. Pretty-enemy did not know what kind of stuffing there was, but Birds-all-over-the-ground made the general statement that sun dance dolls were stuffed with sweetgrass and white pine needles, and had their hair parted like women.

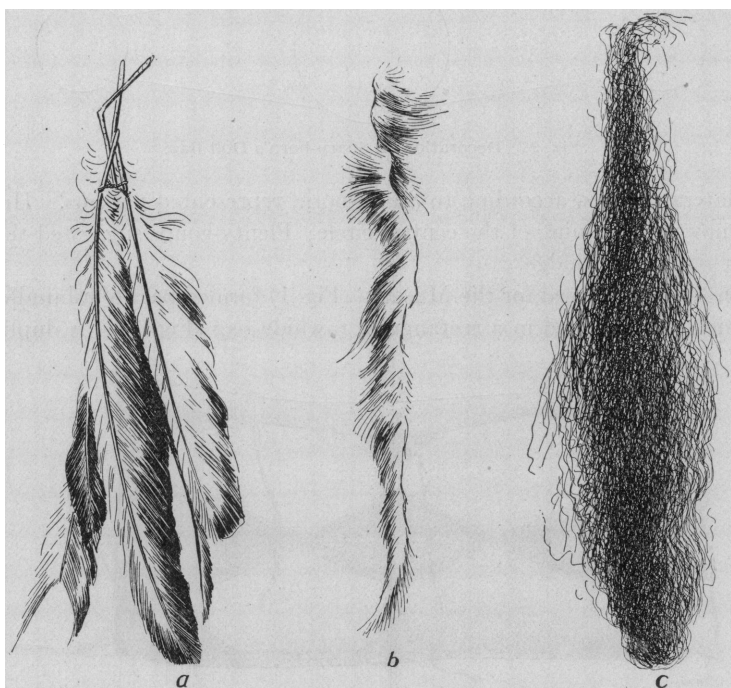


Fig. 4 abc (50.1-4011k, n, i). Feathers, Skunkskin, and Hair forming Part of Contents of the Doll Envelope shown in Fig. 3.

Three strips of skunkskin (Fig. 4b) in the bundle undoubtedly represent the anklets and necklace referred to in accounts of the ceremony, the latter being placed round the pledger's neck to make him go mad (see p. 48). Of the two rawhide effigies (Fig. 5b, c), one was said to have been attached to the whistler's hair. The remaining articles include two beaded plaques (Fig. 7), fairly large bunches of feathers (Figs. 4a, 8b), hair (Fig. 4c), and an awl (Fig. 5a) mounted in a wrapped handle.

THE PRELIMINARY LODGE.

The precise relative order of the events following the (last) tongue hunt is not certain; it may be that the contradictory statements obtained reflect actual transposition of proceedings at different performances. Thus, it would appear from some accounts that after the tongue hunt, the site of the ceremony was selected, that then the entire camp set out toward it, making the trip in four stages, and that on each of the four nights of the journey a preparatory ceremony took place in the whistler's lodge. But Gray-bull makes the four preparatory ceremonies precede the journey to the

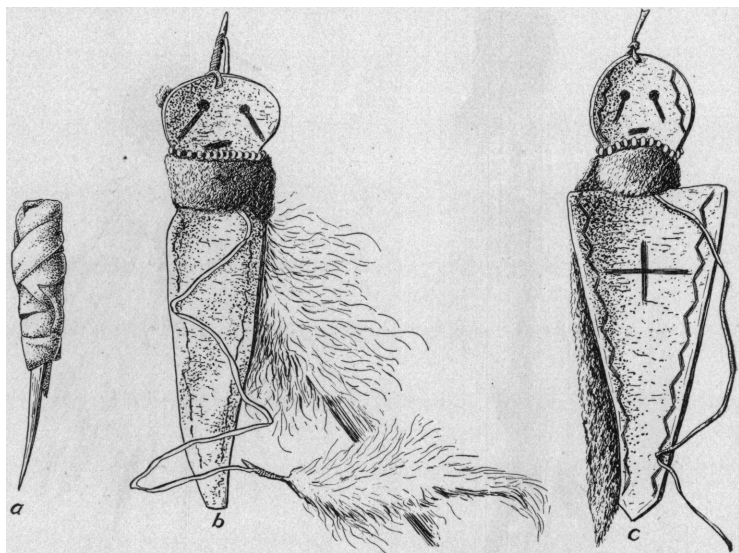


Fig. 5 a (50.1-4011f), b (50.1-4011g), c (50.1-4011h). Awl and Rawhide Effigies from Doll Envelope.

site; and Bear-crane puts the first performance in the preliminary lodge even before the *selection* of the site. The following account is based on Bear-crane's narrative.

After the hunt the whistler's tipi was carpeted with ground-cedar and a bed of small-leaved sagebrush was prepared in the rear. As soon as the lodge was ready, the whistler entered from the left side and went to the bed, followed by the doll owner, who seated himself on his right. Old men came in uninvited and sat down on the mourner's left without approaching close

to him. They would ask how many days he intended to dance and he might reply, "I'll dance a night and a day till the sun goes down," or specify some other time.¹ Then he would say, "Sing for me tonight, and I will dance for you." The doll owner deliberated for a while and then answered

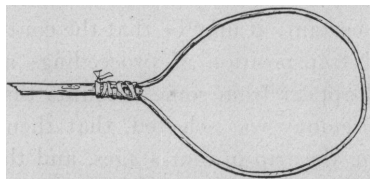
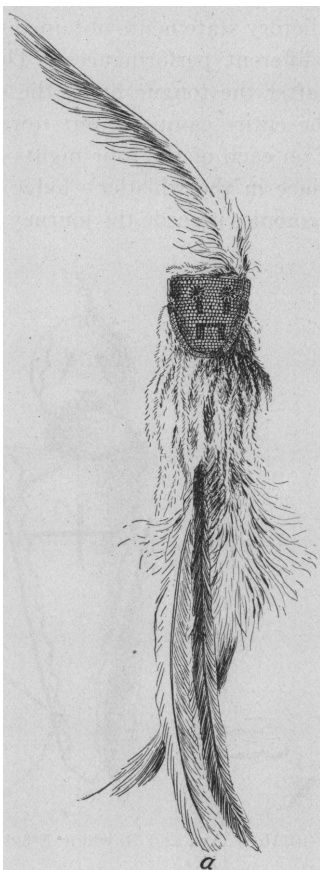


Fig. 6.

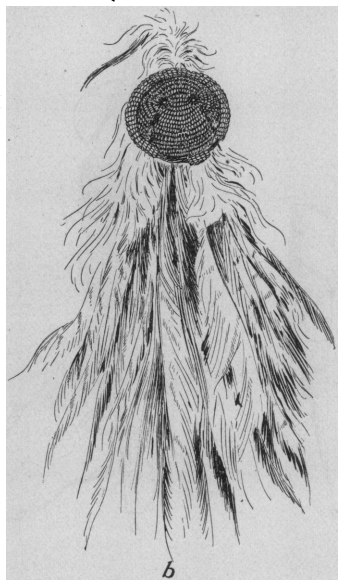


Fig. 6 (50.1-3938). Model of Hoop, within which the Doll was suspended. The real hoop was edged with feathers.

Fig. 7 *ab* (50.1-4011 e, d). Beaded Plaques with Feather Ornamentation, from Envelope shown in Fig. 3.

that he would. Then any of the old visitors might leave or stay according as they wished.

The doll owner went to his own lodge to ask his wife whether she knew

¹ But the termination of the ceremony was always dependent on the circumstances indicated on p. 49.

of any tanned deerskin. She went out and got one. Then her husband bade her take it to some virtuous woman, who accepted it, shouldered it, and took it to the doll owner's lodge. There the doll owner smoked it with ground-cedar incense, smoked himself, and also the chaste woman's body and hands. The medicineman smoked a knife, pretended three times to cut the skin, and the fourth time actually cut it. Then the virtuous woman sewed a kilt of it, with seams on the sides. Takes-the-dead did the

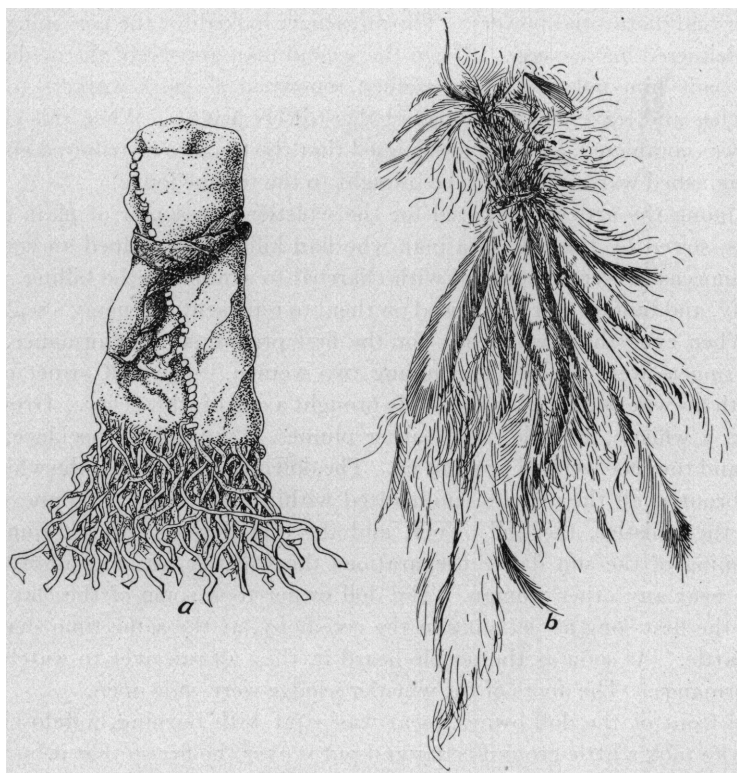


Fig. 8 a b (50.1-4011j, 1). Folded Buckskin and Bunch of Feathers from Doll Envelope.

sewing when a young woman; she used buckskin thread instead of sinew and made four feints at sewing before she actually began. When done, the woman went home. The medicineman smoked the garment, wrapped it up, and put it away. Next he asked his wife to get a robe that had never been worn. She went out and brought it to her husband, who smoked it and put it away.

Then the medicineman said, "I will go over to see my son and find out

whether he has any medicine and whether he can get any." Returning to the whistler's tipi, he sat down in his customary place, smoking a pipe without saying anything till the whistler finally asked him what was up. Then the doll owner bade him try to get eagle tail-feathers. The doll owner returned at once to his own lodge, while the whistler got the feathers only from his relatives, who gave them gratis because of their pity for the whistler. A man was dispatched to present the tail to the doll owner, who bade the messenger summon a certain other man, for during the ceremony the doll owner had dictatorial powers. The messenger looked for the person named and delivered his message. When the second man appeared, the medicine-man bade him tell five or six women renowned as good workers to cut branches and leaves for the tongue lodge (dë'ëce asu'a). When this structure was completed, a herald proclaimed that the tongues distributed among distinguished warriors were to be brought to the tongue lodge.

Among the articles prepared for the whistler was a pair of plain moccasins, sewed by the wife of a man who had killed and scalped an enemy. The moccasins were blackened with charcoal to symbolize the killing of an enemy, and buffalo hair was sewed on them to represent an enemy's scalp.

When everything was ready for the first preliminary performance, the best singers were called in, including two women. The doll owner came in with his wife, who sat by him. He brought a cup of white clay. Ground-cedar, a whistle, a rattle, two feather plumes, a skunk-hide necklace, the kilt, and the robe were all brought in. The doll owner went near the whistler and brought all the articles enumerated within easy reach. No one went near the whistler, the doll owner, and the doll owner's wife. From the beginning of the sun dance preparations the whistler was not allowed to come near any other woman. The doll owner took some of the clay and sang the first song as yet sung in the ceremony, at the same time shaking the rattle. As soon as the people heard it, they all ran over to watch the performance. The doors of the whistler's lodge were wide open.

In front of the doll owner's seat was a pit with burning buffalo chips. His wife took a little ground-cedar and put it over the fire so that it burned. She sang with her husband, and smoked some ground-cedar after every song. They sang four times, alternating two distinct songs. After the fourth song, the doll owner slowly lifted the kilt, as if it were something delicate, smoked it, and put it down. The same four songs with the accompanying actions were repeated, then the medicineman took the whistler by his thumbs and raised him gently. A crier inside the lodge bade all the people keep still and listen. The whistler wore nothing but a clout. While being lifted, the whistler put his left foot over the chips to smoke it. Then he stepped into the kilt with his left foot. The doll owner's wife gently raised

the kilt into position, tied it with a leather cord serving as a belt, and tucked in the part of the kilt above the belt. The doll owner looked over the whistler, regarding his emaciated form. The singers put down their pipes and got ready to sing. Then the doll owner called for the best drum. When it had been picked out, the drummer rose, and taking care not to pass the whistler, went round by the door to hand the drum to the doll owner. The latter's wife cast more ground-cedar on the buffalo chips and turned the drum back and forth over the fire, while her husband sang. The drum was returned to the drummer, who retraced his steps to resume his seat. The medicineman smoked his rattle, and sang three times in a low voice, but the fourth time he sang out aloud, and was then joined by all the singers. Now he was ready to paint the whistler. At the first song he smoked his own hands, holding them close to the whistler's head and slowly lowering them to the ground by the end of the song, keeping time with the singing. He acted similarly during the second song, and also during the third, but when that ended he dipped his hand in the white clay. At the fourth song he put clay on the whistler from head to foot. Next he went round and similarly painted the whistler's back, then his left and right side, down to the ground. Then his wife took a sagebrush, mixed it with white clay, and now actually¹ painted the whistler with white clay all over his body. The same song was continually repeated. After the woman had done, her husband made a cross on the whistler's breast and another on his back, both representing the morningstar. Then, beginning at the space below the mourner's eyes he marked with his fingers a lightning design down his face to represent the whistler's tears, and also put a lightning mark on his forehead to represent the mode of painting used by the sun. The doll owner now took the skunk-hide, made a slit in the middle, smoked it with cedar, painted it with white clay, and put it first round the whistler's right side, then round his neck, and finally round his left side. As no one was allowed to go in front of the whistler, the doll owner himself, in putting the skunk-hide on him, passed back of him. Then he tied a plume to the top of his ward's head, and repainted with white clay the spot where paint might have been rubbed off during the process of tying. Standing back, he took a long square look at the mourner. Then he got a plume for the little finger of the right hand, painted it with clay, tied it on the whistler's finger, stepped back, and looked at him again for a long time. In the same way he tied a plume to the little finger of his "son's" left hand. During these proceedings the drummers continued singing.

Next the medicineman's wife threw cedar into the fire and smoked the

¹ This word indicates that her husband merely pretended to paint the mourner.

moccasins previously prepared on both the inside and outside. She first put the left moccasin, then the right, on the whistler's feet, for he himself assumed a passive attitude at this stage. Her husband took the robe, smoked it, and at the end of each of three songs feigned to put down the robe, actually laying it down the fourth time. Taking the whistler by the arm, he made him sit down, and put the flaps of the robe round his "son," who did not so much as touch the garment, the woman adjusting the robe for him. Taking the whistle, the doll owner smoked it with cedar incense, put clay on it, and knelt down before the whistler. Putting the whistle into his own mouth, he danced in kneeling posture, blowing his whistle and facing the whistler. This occupied the time consumed by four songs. After dancing through this period, the medicineman took the whistle from his own mouth and pretended to put it into the whistler's, which was open, ready to receive it. This was done three times, the whistle being moved closer each time, until at the fourth time the whistler took the whistle into his mouth and began forthwith to dance as his instructor had done before, to the drummer's accompaniment, who sang four songs. The whistler then took the whistle out of his mouth and shook it. The doll owner took it from him, then the whistler bent forward and the doll owner placed the whistle round his neck.

The singers ceased to sing, and smoked four times, emptying their pipe. It was now time for prominent men to enter. Four warriors came in from the left, and four from the right. All of them were equipped as though for a war expedition on foot. Wolfskins were carried as scout badges. The warriors had a rope, and each had a bundle of moccasins tied to his belt. They were not allowed to carry guns. At this time the eagle tail-feathers were still in the doll owner's tipi. The warriors remained standing after their entrance. The drummers waited for the two women singers to sing this song:—

hī'ra	wacúE	rāwí'ewà,	bāsúE	hiré'rek'.
Woman-friend,	my song	sing,	my house	is here!

Then the drummers all took up the song, while the warriors clapped their mouths and shouted. The eight warriors flirted with the women. When the song had been sung four times, the warriors closest to the whistler on his left and right side said:—

ku'' kahé,	karīrī'at'bak'	dúxiwarē'k.
Well to begin that	just like this I did	when I went on warpath.

Then each told how he had brought horses from the enemy, achieving undisputed honors. The drum was beaten after every sentence. When each of the eight warriors had told of his deeds, they went out. The

drummers had another smoke, then sang again. The medicineman went through the motions of touching the whistler three times, before he finally took off the plume from his head and laid it down. His wife threw cedar on the fire, then her husband smoked the plume and laid it down. After three feigned motions he took off the skunkskin and laid it down. Next he removed the plumes from the little fingers, the whistle, and last of all the moccasins, for the kilt was not taken off. The singing continued. Then the medicineman said, "Bring in his quilts." Sagebrush and cedar were brought in two bundles, and the doll owner made a pillow of cedar, and a bed of the scented sagebrush. Taking hold of the whistler, he seated him, then gently threw him on his back and put his arms down, with the palms up. Taking the robe, he acted three times as if about to cover the whistler and the fourth time actually covered him. The whistler was obliged to remain thus on his back all night, with his feet toward the fireplace. The doll owner said: "Bring in the buffalo bull." The people then brought in a skull with the horns. The medicineman put the skull close to the whistler's head, making it face the same way as the whistler.

All singers then went out except the doll owner and his wife, who talked to each other and decided where would be the best site for the sun dance lodge, saying, "We'll move over there." The place might be about three miles away.

When their mind was made up, the man bade his wife summon the crier, who was told to notify the camp. Then the couple decided which society was to act as police, whether the Big Dogs or Muddy Hands, etc. The crier notified the camp and told the police to go early and put a wood pile on the site of the lodge. A pile of wood was raised to the height of about fifteen feet. The tongue lodge had been put up in the meantime; it belonged to the whistler. It was very close to the preparatory lodge.

The next morning the police were waiting at the site. The people came in, and the police made them form a circle round the site. The whistler's lodge (ak'ō'oce asu'ε) was moved together with the tongue lodge, which was in the form of a shade-lodge. Both were placed a little distance in from the circumference, toward the center. The whistler's lodge faced the wood pile.

Now the performance in the preparatory lodge was repeated on three nights.

THE BULL HUNT.

Before the sun dance lodge could be erected it was necessary to select and fell the lodge poles and to obtain two buffalo bull hides for tying the tops of the poles. Statements vary as to which event preceded the other. Following Bear-crane, I will first give an account of the bull hunt.

After the fourth night in the preparatory lodge, the doll owner began to think. No one was allowed to go out. People did not know where the buffalo were. The doll owner tried to find out. He thought to himself, "Where can a bull be?" Then, when he had made up his mind, he thought of the best marksman and the best butcher in the tribe. Finally, he would say, "Over yonder will be found a buffalo bull. Call So-and-so for marksman and So-and-so for butcher." Of course the medicineman had got an inspiration from some supernatural source. Then some man went out and summoned the men named. They might be far off, but came in nevertheless. "Look here!" said the doll owner to the hunter. "Yes!" "Look here! Tomorrow at dawn you shall rise, select a fast horse to take you out and another fast hunting horse, take two arrows from your quiver and go out. With one arrow you must kill a buffalo bull, and with the second arrow you must kill another. Kill a bull six, seven, eight, nine, or ten years old, but not one younger than six years." No common marksman was allowed to go out, for there were a number of taboos to be observed that severely taxed the skill of the best sharpshooter. The bull had to be killed before sunrise, without the use of a gun, and he had to be killed with the first shot. Moreover, the arrow must not pass clean through his body, for there was to be but a single hole in the hide. Sharp-horn, who had himself served as marksman on the bull hunt, said that if the arrow went clean through the body, he at once discarded the bull he had shot and looked for another.

The butcher also received his instructions. To him the doll owner said: "Make your knife as sharp as possible. Have one horse to ride, and one to pack on. Do not eat any part of the bull, not even the smallest particle. Do not taste of it, for it belongs to the sun, and the sun will watch, looking down at you all the time." Both the sharpshooter and the butcher received two plumes and a string. To the former the doll owner said: "When you shoot the first buffalo, let him die. When you shoot the second, you must tie one plume to his tail and the other between his horns, before he falls to the ground." The butcher was instructed to deal in the same way with the first bull shot. This part of the undertaking was, of course, exceedingly dangerous, and though Bear-crane said that no bull ever tried to hook the

butcher or marksman, another informant who had actually participated in these expeditions spoke of having been repeatedly put to flight by the wounded buffalo.

The hunting party set out and executed their commission in accordance with the instruction received. As soon as a bull had expired, the butcher cut him up with the utmost dispatch, though with great care. The head was severed and discarded except for the nasal cartilage and tongue. The four feet and the backbone were also left behind. All the remaining parts of the body were taken back to camp, the hide being thrown over the sharpshooter's horse, and all the meat on the pack-horse. On the return trip the marksman surrendered his knives and weapons to the butcher so as not to carry anything sharp, and rode in front of his companion.¹

While the bull-hunters were gone, the doll owner tried to think of the best two ² scouts in camp. All men in the tipi being ready to act as his servants, some were selected to call the scouts, who immediately appeared in obedience to the summons. The doll owner told them to prepare wolf-hide sashes,³ take white clay, and go out to watch for the bull-hunters. They were to act like real scouts on a war party. As soon as they saw the returning bull-hunters they were to paint themselves with the white clay, and come back to camp, howling like wolves.

On one occasion one of the scouts fell asleep and the other did not notice the returning party till they were quite close. The hunters said: "Look at those sleepy wolves." Then the scouts saw them and rushed back to camp with the utmost dispatch. Every one was amused at this incident.

When the scouts caught sight of the hunters they ran back to camp howling like coyotes or wolves. According to Gray-bull, they went straight to a four-post shade-lodge erected in the center of the camp for the deposition of the meat to be brought in later by the hunting party. Then there was a big stir, the people came out, and sang songs (according to Old-dog, in praise of the returning hunters). They took away the scouts' guns, and asked them whether they had seen anything. The scouts replied that they had seen an enemy who had no weapons and could easily be killed. Then all rejoiced and shouted. According to Gray-bull, the scouts coming back exclaimed: "The men who went out have killed some person, and are bringing the scalp and good horses!" In another version by the same informant the scouts are made to announce: *ē'k-ōn baré ra'sastsis'e-taheria*

¹ Bear-gets-up said there were two bull-hunting parties, each comprising a sharpshooter and a butcher. They went in opposite directions and each tried to get back to camp before the rival party.

² Gray-bull speaks of three or four such men. Red-eye said the scouts were men who had fought the enemy without suffering injury.

³ The customary badge of scouts.

kā'mnem dū'ok'. hā'ma+u! (Over there not disturbing our alertness (?) some Piegan came. Wipe them out!) Red-eye says that, when the scouts appeared at the edge of the camp, the people rushed toward them, trying to count coup on them, and take their weapons. One would say, "Here I strike an enemy"; another, "Here I take a bow"; and so forth.

In preparation for the reception of the bull-hunters the flaps of the whistler's tipi were thrown up, and the whistler faced toward the incoming party. Nearly the entire camp were lined up, but left a free passageway. The doll owner had ground-cedar spread on the ground. He put on a cedar crown, blackened his face, took his rattle and slowly approached the hunters, who stood still in the center of the camp, where they packed all the meat on one horse. It was necessary that all guns, arrows, and knives should be removed from the place where the hunters and doll owner met. When the doll owner had got there, the hunter reported: "You sent me out to those two people. I got them without trouble, all their heads, etc. They are here, and you can do with them as you please." Then the doll owner, singing a song of rejoicing, led the hunter and butcher toward the whistler's tipi. No dog was allowed to get in front of him. Before the whistler's tipi two plots had been strewn with cedar. After four stops they got to the cedar plots. There three or four lucky warriors gently lifted the hunter and butcher from their horses, so that they stepped on the cedar carpet. They were made to sit on robes. The scouts who had reported their approach were seated among the crowd. The meat and hide were unloaded and spread out on the cedar leaves. Then the people examined the buffalo to see whether any part of it were lacking, and if it was all there, a crier bade the old men and women come and sit in a ring outside the lodge. The people said: "We'll eat. It is well. It is well that there is only one hole in the hide." Two lucky chiefs were selected, each to cut up the inside of one of the two buffalo, and two others sliced the meat, which was distributed among all the people there. Gray-bull says that the entrails and marrow bones were given to the old men, and the meat to the old women. One man took the first hide by the neck end, another by the tail, hairy side down, and carried it to the whistler's tipi. There the second hide was placed on top of the first with its hairy side up. According to Gray-bull, each hide was spread out, and water was poured on it. Then it was carefully folded and put away, leaving as much water on it as possible. A big lump of pounded charcoal was laid with it.

Sharp-horn's personal reminiscences indicate some variation from the proceedings as recounted above. When he came back from the bull-hunt, a certain medicineman (apparently not the doll owner) was waiting for him with blackened face, wearing a headband of cedar leaves, and holding a

rawhide rattle in his hand. No sooner had he caught sight of Sharp-horn than he began to sing sacred songs. When my informant got nearer, the medicineman seized his bridle-rein, and conducted him to the whistler's lodge. The whistler had painted his entire body with white clay, and was wearing a bone whistle round his neck. Sharp-horn remained on horseback until one of his own paternal uncles came and helped him dismount. The same uncle bade him enter the lodge, where he found the whistler and Iā'kac, the doll owner. Iā'kac asked Sharp-horn, what he had done. Sharp-horn replied, "I saw two enemies moving away from me. They did not see me. I ran toward them and killed one; the other ran away." Thereupon he was requested to smoke from a pipe, and then went home. One corner of the lodge was carpeted with ground-cedar, and over it the buffalo hide was spread. The meat was put on the skin. In the opposite corner the meat and skin obtained by another hunter were treated in the same way. The old people then came and stayed outside the lodge, where the meat was distributed among them. They feasted there, sang and enjoyed themselves, and finally went home with whatever meat was left. The skin of the buffalo remained in the lodge all day. Old men came in and smoked with the whistler and doll owner in the course of the day.

Muskrat has the whistler himself going out to meet the hunters and bring them to his lodge. He asked them, who had killed the buffalo with the first arrow, helped the marksman dismount, and had all the parts of the buffalo brought to the lodge, where they were deposited on skins. Muskrat, as cook, sat down in front of the whistler's lodge. The head end of the skin, which rested on ground-cedar, was turned northward, while the head itself was made to face south. One person inside made an offering. Then old people were invited to come there. Muskrat took a knife, cut up the buffalo meat into so many parts, and distributed these among the old people. Even the guts were divided in this way. Then the old people were sent home.

THE LODGE POLES.

After the proceedings just described the doll owner said, "Tomorrow we shall cut the lodge poles." One of the men announced this to the people and bade them rise as early as possible on the following day. A lucky warrior, or otherwise one of the policemen, was dispatched to select the best trees for lodge poles, and returned to report. The first tree (corresponding to the center tree of other tribes) was generally a cottonwood, the

rest cottonwood or pine trees according to the doll owner's vision. Early the next morning the crier roused the people, bidding the young men fetch their horses and telling the young women to paint and dress up in their best clothes. So all put on their best finery, and the men used their finest trappings, such as mountain-lion skins for saddlecloths.

Now the tail-feathers and the tongues collected for the ceremony were to be used. The doll owner bent a willow into a hoop (Fig. 6), and made a network of twelve willow sticks in the hoop, topping each with an eagle feather painted black. In the center of the hoop the doll itself was suspended, representing the sun's face. The doll owner held up the doll in the hoop and stood beside the whistler, who faced the doll owner's wife. The doll owner said to his wife: "I am holding this doll. Sing your song of joy, and then put the tongues in a kettle, and when you come back we shall all start." The woman sang the song four times, and then went to put the tongues into the kettle. She sent for fresh willows and had them sharpened and painted black. A real scalp was tied to the fork she used in cooking.

When the woman got back, the people set out to cut lodge poles. The whistler walked way ahead with the doll, behind him the doll owner and his wife, next the singers and the police, then four women who were carrying as many of the newly cooked tongues as possible. One of the policemen went ahead toward the trees selected: "It's here, come over here." Then they went to the spot, where the whistler stood still and faced eastward. The four women put down their tongues and made a small shade, under which the doll was put. The whistler sat under the doll, both he and the doll facing eastward. No one was allowed to come within a certain distance from the tree. Half of the police stayed in the rear of the camp. There was always someone on the watch. There was a big stir in the camp. The police made everyone go, except the very old men and women and the sick, who were not compelled to go if unwilling. Then the police in the rear notified the other policemen in front, and a crier proclaimed to the whole camp that all were here and were to keep still.

It was now necessary to select an absolutely virtuous woman for the office of tree-notcher,—one who had been married in the most honorable manner, that is, by purchase, and who had always remained faithful to her husband. Chastity was also a prerequisite for the office of firewood-carrier to be mentioned below (p. 35), but in this latter case it was not necessary that the woman should have been purchased by her husband. According to Biricé-rútsic (Takes-the-dead), even eligible women would decline to serve as tree-notcher because anyone who had filled the position thereby forfeited the right to re-marry if her husband died. It was for this reason

probably that my informant herself had at first declined to serve, saying, "Not yet, I shall wait till I am an older woman." She remained virtuous, however, though she was often courted by young men, and in order to avoid their advances she refrained from dressing in an attractive way, so finally they let her alone. At one time her son (grandson?), No-horse, was almost dead, and then she vowed that if he recovered and she were asked again she would consent to serve as tree-notcher. He was restored to health, and she carried out her vow, praying at the same time that her husband might live for a long time. Thereafter she was greatly respected and received the first share in the distribution of food.

Takes-the-dead says that the whistler himself, painted white, and leading the doll owner and men volunteering to fast during the sun dance, chose the virtuous woman. According to Bear-crane, the doll owner ordered the police to bring her, but first of all the four tongue-bearers opened their bags, selected the best tongue, and gave it to the police. One of these took it and, followed by his associates, went to a woman reported to be of irreproachable character, and handed her the tongue. If, in spite of her reputation, she was not perfectly chaste, she would openly confess her deficiency, being afraid to deceive the people, for her acceptance bore the character of an oath, and deception would bring bad luck on the camp. The formula of refusal on the ground of unchastity was: "*masa'pé hupík*." ("My moccasin has a hole in it"). According to Curtis' narrator, a woman who consented to fill the office was led through the camp and the young men were expected to challenge her oath if they truthfully could. This informant mentioned a particular case where a woman who had been challenged was at once ignominiously dismissed and ever after taunted by her joking-relatives with reference to her public disgrace.¹

The tree-notcher who accepted the office handed the tongue to her husband, who rejoiced over the honor conferred on his wife. She was taken to the whistler, who had remained under the shade with the doll owner and his wife.

The doll owner next sent the police for a berdache. The berdaches were hiding, but at last one was discovered and brought to the spot amidst the laughter of the crowd. Being ashamed, he would cover his face. He was made to stand next to the tree-notcher with an ax in his hand.

The berdache received a tongue as his fee.

A crier next announced that one thing remained to be done,—the selection of a captive (*dā'tse*), apparently of the tribe that had killed the whistler's relative and thus occasioned the sun dance. This captive seems

¹ Curtis, *op. cit.*, 69.

from Crane-bear's account to have been a woman.¹ She also received a tongue in compensation for her services; but if she had a child, the child got the fee instead of the mother. The herald now announced that everything was ready and that all the people should come close to the tree.

The captive greased her hands and blackened them with charcoal. The virtuous woman was holding a stone maul or ax and the prong of an elk antler, chipped into a fine awl-like point and blackened at the top. She faced west, the captive east, the berdache north. The doll owner and his wife stood behind the virtuous woman, the man having a rattle in his hand and holding the tree-notcher by the shoulders. The doll owner began to sing and shake his rattle. At the close of his song he pushed the tree-notcher a little and she touched the tree with the prong and pretended to drive it in with the maul (or ax). While pointing her prong at the tree, she would think to herself, "I'll stick this in his eye," meaning the enemy. At the same time the captive and berdache also made corresponding motions of pretense. The people who had gathered around hallooed. The second song was sung by the doll owner amidst growing excitement on the part of the bystanders, the men getting ready to discharge their guns at the tree. At the close of the song the woman again pretended to drive in her wedge. A third song was sung with similar concluding actions on the part of the tree-notcher. At the close of the fourth song the tree-notcher actually tapped the horn without driving it in, the berdache touched the tree with his ax, and the captive painted a black ² ring round it by rubbing his blackened hands round the trunk. Gray-bull said that the captive was expected to address the tree as follows: "May the poor Indians have a good war the next time, may they kill a Dakota and take captives!" As soon as the captive had done her work, she and the tree-notcher stepped back and the berdache began to chop down the tree. All the people began to shout and shoot at the tree, regarding it as an enemy.³ The young men shot at its limbs and struck it with their coup sticks. After felling the tree, the berdache hid in the crowd, being ashamed. According to Bear-crane, this first tree was not used in the construction of the sun dance lodge, but was allowed to remain where it fell. The performance in connection with the tree was called *ĩ'tsia õ'waràa*, "pole-notching," while the chaste woman was designated as *ak'ĩ'tsi-õ'warè*, *ak'* being a prefix denoting the actor; *ĩ'tsia* is the term applied to one of the first four poles put up in the erection of a lodge.

¹ This does not appear from other versions to have been necessarily the case.

² Some said the ring was red, but the majority expressed the opinion stated in the text. Black, it was explained, always symbolized the killing of an enemy and was thus appropriate for the occasion.

³ Old-dog said it represented the enemy who was to be killed as a result of the ceremony.

Twenty poles had been selected for the lodge. The young women rode double with their sweethearts, chopped the trees and dragged the logs toward camp, where they were placed together in a row.

The police went round to count the trees chopped down, and when twenty had been cut they gave orders to cease and bade all the people go to the flat. The police kept watch on the outside of the crowd to prevent the people from getting away, for now twenty young warriors were to be selected to sit on the logs, and as this involved an obligation on the first four chosen¹ never to retreat from the enemy, the young men tried to run away and hide in avoidance of the dangerous honor. The police — or, in other versions, the whistler's relatives — rode fast horses in pursuit of the young men. When seized, the fugitives cried out four times and sometimes resisted capture, so that they had to be pulled by the hair and brought in by main force. In the meantime the whistler was seated with doll and hoop, awaiting the pursuers' return; he was painted white all over his body and wore a robe. When the horsemen came back with the captives, the whistler, walking slowly because of his weakness, approached them, carrying his hoops, with which he touched the captives. This act at once broke their resistance and made them utter a cry of distress and sit down each on the edge of one of the logs. Each captive received a tongue. According to Red-eye, the whistler put white clay on the young men's faces and with the doll brushed their bodies from head to foot. A crier announced "So-and-so has been touched by the sun's feathers." After the first four who were "made to die"² had been selected — the first one, according to Bear-crane, by the whistler, the other three by the police —, sixteen men were chosen by the police because of their wealth. Though they cried out, "I am poor," they were forcibly seized and made to straddle the remaining logs without being touched by the whistler. The relatives of all the captives brought robes, beadwork, horses, and other property, and deposited them before the young men straddling the logs. Instead of actually bringing a horse, a little stick was laid down to symbolize such a gift; sometimes as many as fifty horses were thus pledged. All this property was appropriated by the doll owner, but after reserving the bulk of it for himself he distributed the rest among those who aided in the performance of the dance.³

Muskrat sets the number of poles, and accordingly of captured warriors, at ten, and adds some details. Each of the warriors had a relative raise the pole before he sat down on it. When all were seated, a herald announced

¹ From other accounts, the duty was incumbent on all the twenty men.

² The same term, *ce'k'uk'*, is applied to them and to the officers of military societies with corresponding duties.

³ But compare p. 38.

that they were ready. Then girls came running, and tied strings round the poles, each girl then sitting down behind the corresponding warrior. This indicated that she was to ride behind him, when he should drag the pole to the site of the Lodge.¹ There the ten poles were arranged like the spokes of a wheel, the place of the hub being taken by a free circular area.

Gray-bull said that a man captured by the police in order to sit on one of the logs would lift the end of the pole. If he said, "My pole is heavy for me, I will sit down," this meant his willingness to serve the whistler. If he lifted it with ease, he was absolved from duty, and a substitute was obtained. When the girls had taken their places on the horses' backs behind the young men, a young woman whose brother sat on one of the first four logs would ask her sweetheart to haul her brother's pole before the others. A rope was attached to the logs, and they were dragged to the site. The first man to untie a log had the privilege of leading the others in an expedition for willows to shade the sun dance lodge.

All started as though for a race. The girls cut the willow twigs, then the young men approached them, made them ride double, and dragged the willows to camp. They went out twice for willows, then different societies, such as the Foxes and Lumpwoods, went round on opposite sides of the camp and wherever they met they laid the willows in a ring round the lodge poles. Then it was about evening, and everyone went home. During the night the societies met and sang in front of different lodges, accompanied by a few young women.

The tongues were returned to the tongue lodge, and the whistler returned to his tipi. People were careful not to pass him from the side whence the wind blew; they were also afraid of menstruating women. The whistler had not eaten or drunk for six (?) days and nights now and was not even able to expectorate and barely able to look about. The doll owner had also abstained largely, though not entirely, from food since the beginning of the ceremony, so he was also lean by this time. People came in and out of the whistler's tipi. Only the whistler and the doll owner were allowed to smoke a straight pipe, indeed the former was not permitted to touch any other, though the doll owner might do so when outside. The doll owner instructed the whistler, but in so low a tone of voice that no one else could hear what he said. The visitors dropped out one by one till only the whistler and the doll owner couple remained. The woman had her husband announce that the lodge was to be erected on the next day. Her husband planted a cedar

¹ A Reno informant, on the other hand, said that the men sitting on the logs were not required to help drag the poles. One-horn said that the first four poles were taken straight-way to the site in front of the woodpile, the others being placed symmetrically on each side of them.

behind the buffalo skull, tied the doll hoop to the tree, and secured another buffalo skull,— the two skulls representing those of the two bulls killed and butchered by the sharpshooters' parties. Finally the doll owner took off his son's ceremonial raiment, smoked him, and retired with his wife.

ERECTION OF THE LODGE.

At dawn the crier told the people to rise since the lodge was to be erected. The people rose and got ready. At breakfast the young men saddled their horses, and all the young women assembled in one place. The young men rode horses and invited partners from among the young women to ride behind them. Then they went to the timber and got firewood, partners assisting each other. They tied together what wood they had. The police, after a consultation among themselves, went among the women to look for a leader. If the one they sought was there, they would go to her camp and hand her one tongue. They asked her whether she had ever had a paramour. If not, she accepted the tongue and gave it to her husband. Then she was brought to the assembled party of young men and women, was put on horseback and took a bundle of brushwood, which she put in front of her saddle. Then the police went among the renowned young men, selected one and gave him a tongue, as a token that he was to lead the chaste woman. Then all went to the camp in single file. The leader was called *ak'birĩbasā'ane* (the one who goes first for firewood). They circled round the inside of the camp, then went straight to the site of the lodge and deposited the brushwood; there was a big pile of it. The members of this party then scattered to their respective homes and for a time did as they pleased.¹

Muskrat's version is slightly different. The girls, according to her, dressed up as neatly as possible, and sat down in a circle, each keeping before her some wood. The young men approached singing, and stopped in front of the girls. They said nothing for a while, then each drew closer, and asked some girl to ride with him. The wood was tied to the front of the saddle, and they mounted, the girls riding in front and the man behind. They went through the camp looking for an absolutely virtuous woman to lead the procession. If a young man was able to say of a candidate for the honor, "She has a hole in her moccasin," some other girl had to be chosen.

¹ According to others, the clay expedition (p. 42) preceded that for firewood, but the order given in the text is that given by Crane-bear, Muskrat, and Fire-weasel's wife.

One informant said that if an unchaste woman attempted to lead, someone would shout, "You are crazy! You have done so-and-so!" When a proper leader had been chosen, she and her following set out to collect brushwood, and piled it up outside the lodge. Both this leader and the young man who got the clay received a cooked tongue. Red-eye said that the virtuous woman walked afoot during this expedition, leading the horse of the bravest warrior.

Then the men were told to prepare some outer tipi poles (those regulating the smoke-vent). All the young men got some, paired them off, and tied each pair together. Three of the poles for the sun dance lodge were joined and laid on top of the pile at the site and the remaining poles were laid down, as were the willows.

The doll owner prepared ground-cedar and smoked the two buffalo hides brought by the hunting party. The first hide was laid in line with one lodge pole. The ground was chipped, and on it was laid the first hide. Then the whistler was brought to sit on the ground-cedar in front of the tipi. The doll owner painted him with charcoal, and then painted with the same substance the fleshy side of one of the hides. The second hide had to be handled with care. He turned the hide outside where it had been hit by the arrow and first painted part of the hide down to the back, then carefully took up the other half of the hide. Before painting the buffalo hides, the shaman sang four times. One of the whistler's female relatives brought a sharp knife, a whetstone, and a hoe; these she handed to the doll owner, who sharpened the knife. The doll owner had his chin, forehead and cheeks blackened; he wore a cedar crown and moccasins like those worn by the whistler. The blackening of the hide symbolized vengeance on the enemy. People flocked round to look on while the police were joining and tying the first three poles with a bundle of willows.

The shaman gave the knife to his wife. A man renowned for horse-stealing was sent out to cut willows and brought them in. These willows were about two feet long. Two other men, renowned horse-stealers, were picked out to tell of their deeds, and began to make the sticks sharp-pointed. The woman painted the willows with charcoal. The knife is likewise blackened. She sang four times, then began to cut the buffalo hide. Ground cedar had already been put wherever the shaman had to step. He motioned toward the four quarters, then he cut one foreleg. Then he made four motions and cut the hind leg. He did the same with the other side of the first hide, and repeated the same performance with the second. After learning how many pins there were for fastening the hides, he began to make perforations along the edge equal to one-half the number of sticks prepared for this purpose and did the same with the other skin. The hides were taken

up by two parties of renowned men respectively and rubbed under one of the lodge poles without being made to touch the ground. The heads of both hides were made to face east. The willowstick pins were run through the peripheral holes to unite the two hides. Other hides were soaked in water and cut into strips at this time to be tied to the lodge poles so that voluntary self-torturers might suspend themselves therefrom.

The three or four main poles of the lodge ¹ were raised at one end so as to rest on the woodpile heaped up to mark the site, and their point of intersection was wrapped with willows. Then the ends of the poles were pushed through the perforations of the hides, which were twisted so that the poles could be run through several times; and the sharpened pegs were run through the hides so as to hold them together. Together with a wrapping of willow-sticks and ground-cedar, these hides represented an eyrie. The next step was for the police to get some man who had a bird ² for his medicine and bid him hasten to sit in the nest.

The bird man wrapped himself in a robe pinned with a wing-feather, painted his face according to his vision, tied his medicine objects to the back of his head, took an eagle feather fan in each hand, and began to whistle bird-fashion in his lodge. He approached the site, making four stops on the way. No one, not even a dog, was permitted to pass in front of him by the police. If he heard a dog bark, he would go right back to his lodge. He continued to imitate the actions of a bird. At every halting place he sang a song. He walked toward the pole against which the hides had been rubbed, and when he got there he again began to sing. At the end of the fourth song he walked up the pole, flapping his "wings," and sat or knelt down in the nest. Then all the people shouted and raised the main poles with the aid of the coupled tipi-poles that had been prepared. The main poles were lifted a short distance, perhaps a foot, then they were lowered again. The bird man whistled. The poles were lifted and lowered three times, and the fourth time they were raised to the proper height. At this point, one witness states, the bird man stood up and faced successively toward the west, north, east, and south. Holes were dug and the butt-ends of the poles were made to rest in them. The man in the nest continued to impersonate a big bird, pretending to fly and to raise the big poles as they were being hoisted into position. The remaining lodge poles were lifted by the same device of coupled tipi poles as if to push the nestling down, but

¹ Fire-weasel's wife, Muskrat, and Crane-bear give the number as three, One-horn, Gray-bull, and Sharp-horn as four.

² Crane-bear specifies that it was a spotted eagle. When the Crow speak of a "bird" in this connection, they usually mean an eagle. Muskrat was the only informant who said that the man's medicine was the sun.

he managed to get out of the way, and with a rope thrown to him he succeeded in tying together the main and additional poles. The willows and brush collected by the parties of young men and women were now employed in the construction of a cover. The willows were tied between poles from the ground to the height of a person's breast, where a space was left free to permit looking in. Thence the covering was continued to the top. On a windy day the lower part of the screen was supplanted with sheeting. Sometimes rawhide was used to cover the upper space. Muskrat said the sun dance was sometimes held in the winter, in which case the willow railing



Fig. 9. Frame of Crow Tobacco Adoption Lodge, resembling in structure that of the Crow Sun Dance Lodge.

was constructed as usual, but the upper part of the lodge was covered with buffalo hides. According to Gray-bull, however, the ceremony took place only in the summer.

The woodpile marking the site was removed, and the bird man slid to the ground as fast as possible and ran home. According to Gray-bull, he was entitled to all the gifts deposited by the log-straddlers' relatives, while others say he received only four choice articles from the lot.¹ On descending

¹ However, compare the statement on p. 33, that the doll owner appropriated all these goods.

to the ground the bird man announced a consolatory vision in the whistler's behalf, such as: "I have seen a person killed. A short distance off in the prairie I saw a person lying down dead already."

In view of the type of sun dance lodge found among the Dakota and other Plains tribes, it is necessary to emphasize the difference between them and the Crow structure. The latter was unanimously declared to resemble the tobacco adoption lodge (Fig. 9), except that it was larger, having twenty instead of ten poles. It is further worthy of note that the general plan of structure of, say, the Arapaho sun dance lodge is not unknown to the Crow, for they use a somewhat similarly constructed shade lodge in the summer (Fig. 10). The distinctive type of sun dance lodge used by the Crow is all

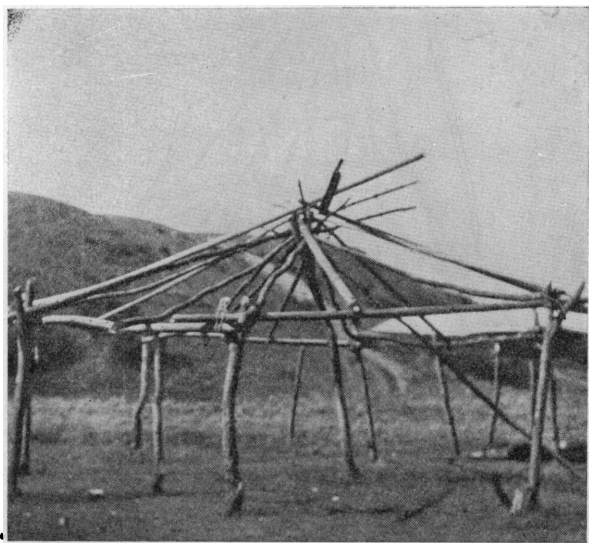


Fig. 10. Frame of Crow Shade Lodge, resembling Structure of Sun Dance Lodge of other Tribes,

the more remarkable. A model constructed by Red-eye (from Pryor) is illustrated in Fig. 11.

The time had now arrived for the *birā'retarisūa*, No-fire dance, also called "Animal Dance." Crane-bear said this performance had been instituted by the morningstar, who had asked the sun to sanction its introduction. The police gave notice to the people, who came scurrying to the screen and got ready to look on.

The No-Fire dance consisted of the entrance of war leaders with their respective followers for the purpose of possibly seeing a vision in the as yet not

quite completed structure. The war parties took turns, each being headed by a scout, while the captain, carrying a pipe with a scalp tied to it, came last. These performers had prepared during the last part of the lodge-raising procedure and now came out of the captains' tipis, to the singing and drumming of musicians seated within the lodge. The young women

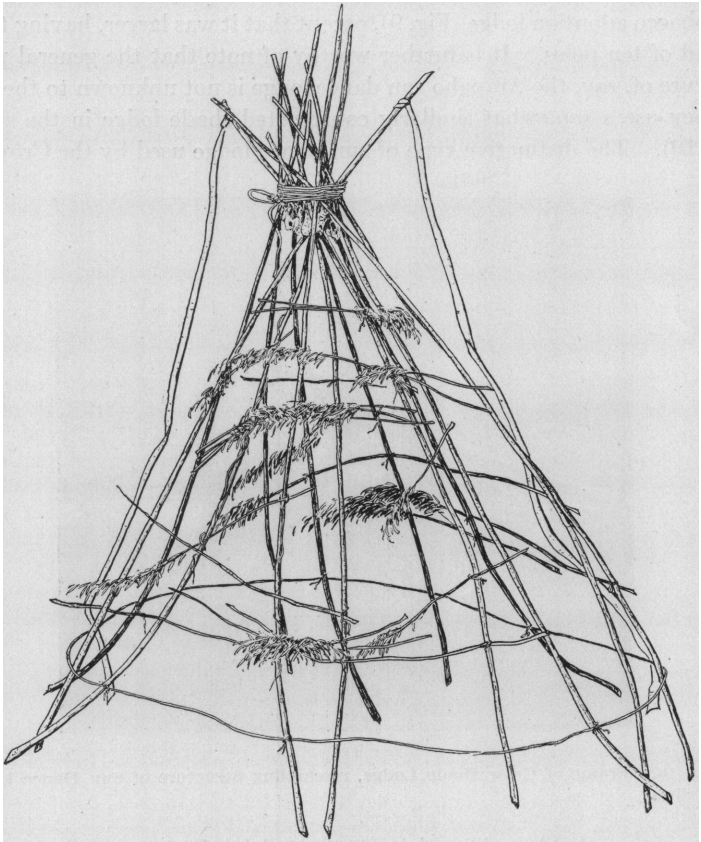


Fig. 11 (50.1-4012). Model of Crow Sun Dance Lodge, made by Red-eye. The nest and the ropes for the self-torturers are represented.

clapped their hands to their mouths, and the people shouted, "The war leaders are ready to come now!" Then the captains and warriors ran to the lodge, making four stops; some dragging ropes, others carrying whips, and all acting as though in a fight. The first party entered, swung about to the right, circled round, and then faced the door (i. e., east). While making their circuit they were looking up at the nest in quest of a vision. Then

the captain might announce that he saw nothing, or perchance he might proclaim that he had seen a Sioux killed, whereupon he and his men made their exit on the side so as to avoid collision with the second group of warriors at the main entrance. They hurried to their tipi to change clothes and rush back to the lodge to watch the next party perform. Possibly as many as ten war parties made their successive appearance in the lodge, all repeating practically the same procedure, which consumed several hours altogether. Finally, the people went home and the singers adjourned to the whistler's lodge, where they sang throughout the evening. No one was allowed to enter the sun dance lodge. A herald went through the camp announcing that the people must rise early the next day since one more thing remained to be done. That night the whistler was already almost dead with exhaustion though he had undergone but a small part of the suffering that was to fall to his lot.

A characteristic story of a war captain's vision was told by Lone-tree, who had previously experienced revelations from the Dipper and the bald-headed eagle: —

As I was sitting in front of my tent, watching the people build the (sun dance) lodge, the widow of the slain Crow for whom the ceremony was undertaken came crying through the camp and looking for me. When she saw me, she laid her hand on my head. I was considered the best *medicineman*. She begged me to help her and come in to make medicine for her. My medicine was the bald-headed eagle. I promised to do the best I could, and bade my wife summon six men, for with them I should make seven, and there are seven stars in the Dipper (*i'g'e sá'pue* = seven stars). The men came clad in buffalo robes. We all painted our faces yellow, and put red paint below our eyes and on the forehead. We carried ground-cedar branches in our hands and a shell on the braid in the back of our hair to represent the brightness of the Dipper. I wore a whistle and carried a bald-headed eagle, of which I had reddened the nose. When we were ready, I got up, and we smoked outside my tent. Then we walked a short distance, halted and smoked, then proceeded again until at the fourth stop we came to the lodge. The singers were in there waiting, and a crowd had gathered outside, but the whistler was not yet there. My party went in, and I entered last of all. We came in on the left side. I stood there and began to whistle near the fire, looking up toward the sky. I sang the bald-headed eagle song: when doing this I was wont to close my eyes and could then see everything about me. While whistling, I beheld a body hanging, head foremost, from the intersection of the poles, with blood all over the body. I ceased whistling, looked up again, and saw nothing. The widow was standing outside waiting for me. I told her what I had seen in my vision, and she thanked me. Since there was so much blood I thought that it represented three enemies. Four days later three enemies were killed.

Muskrat told of another instance, when a captain walked backward instead of forward, stopped, whistled, and looked at the nest. The singers called to the party to stop as their captain had seen something. Then the captain, standing in the center, said: "I saw a man lying down, I saw his

yellow foot. There are many medicinemen here, but not one of you has seen him." That same night a Piegan was killed by the Crow.

The day after the war captains' performance the crier announced again that the young people were to get white clay. Then all the young women dressed and assembled in one spot, the police looking into every lodge to see that the female inmates joined the gathering. The young men also went there, and selected partners with whom to ride double. The police took a tongue and began looking for a virtuous young man to act as leader of the expedition. It must be a man who had never taken liberties with any woman but his own wife, in particular, one who was not *ak'bi'arūsace*¹ and had never played with his sisters-in-law. Anyone who had transgressed these rules of sexual decorum would decline office, saying, "I made a hole in my moccasin." If a pretender attempted to serve, some one of his sisters-in-law would cry out: "You played with me!" "You touched my breasts!" "isa'pe' it'bū'retk', bitā' xīere! (His moccasin is soleless, cast him aside!)

At last a suitable man was found, and he led the procession to a spot where there was good clay. He picked up some of it before any of his following, but before so doing he said, "Because I never did such and such a thing, I wish you to kill an enemy and have a good time." Then he put the clay into a cloth, all the rest following suit. On the return trip the virtuous man went afoot, leading the horse of the best-looking woman round the camp so that everyone might see them. He and the rider got a tongue each. Finally he laid the clay down in a big pile by the place where the whistler's bed was to be arranged, i. e., in the rear of the lodge. The police came in, and a man who had been with a party that made a captive told of the deed, whereupon the police chipped and smoothed the rectangular site of the whistler's bed, where the clay was then put on in the form of a little ridge.

THE WHISTLER'S ENTRANCE.

In the meantime a crier had gone out to summon good singers to take drums and go to the whistler's tipi. While the police were fixing the clay, these musicians were with the whistler. The cedar tree was carried out of the whistler's tipi to the sun dance lodge by two men, two others carried the buffalo skulls one apiece, and the doll owner and his wife followed in the

¹ *ak*, one who; *bi'a*, woman; *rūsace*, kneads (?). The term is applied to one who sneaks to a lodge at night, lifts the cover where a woman is lying, and takes certain liberties with her. See *Social Life of the Crow*, p. 221.

rear. The doll owner adjusted the cedar and the skulls in their proper position in the lodge, and sprinkled charcoal on the fireplace, while his wife brought in some fat from a buffalo's neck and painted the bottom of the cedar with greased charcoal. The whistler, who had already been painted up with the same ceremony as on the first preparatory day, remained in his tipi. He wore a skunkskin necklace and skunkskin anklets; a plume was tied to the solitary lock of hair on his head, and another to each of his little fingers. Gray-bull says that the whistler wore a buckskin shirt sewed by the leader of the firewood expedition, while others speak of his wearing nothing but a deerskin round his waist or buckskin knee-leggings.

As soon as the doll owner and his wife had returned, they and the musicians commenced to sing and the whistler began to dance, blowing an eagle-bone whistle suspended from his neck, and holding the hoop enclosing the doll. The people were lined up in two long rows to watch his exit, but left a passageway for the procession. The whistler took a few steps towards the door. At the close of the first song he thrust his hoop outside and pretended to go out, but stepped back. At the close of the second song he put the hoop outside so as to expose a little more of the feathers, but also his head and bust. At the close of the fourth song he came outside, and walked a short distance, followed by the singers. Then he halted and danced, looking at the doll. He proceeded toward the lodge, making four stops altogether before he reached the entrance. Then he went in, putting the feathers in front of him and walked up to the cedar, followed by the doll owner couple. The husband took the hoop and tied it to the cedar, which was behind the bed, like the buffalo skull. The doll was arranged so as to be on a level with the whistler's face when he stood up. The musicians entered on the right side and formed a circle. When the whistler had entered, all the spectators ran to the lodge to watch the performance from the outside. The men allowed the women to get ahead and lean against the railing, then came up and hugged them from behind.

In a rectangular space in the center of the lodge a fire was built and maintained by the fire-tenders (*ak'birā'aptse*), who were members of the slain Crow's war party. Some say they sat on the right side of the door for one entering, but Fire-weasel's wife, whose statement is supported by Crane-bear's diagram, says they sat on the left. On each side of the fire a pole was stuck into the ground, and from a crosspiece connecting them kettles were suspended. The women acting as cooks wore ground-cedar head-bands and carried forks painted with charcoal and decorated with scalps at the upper end.¹ They brought in tongues and cooked them. In

¹ Red-eye says the forks were painted with black stripes.

the meantime the musicians were resting and smoking. The cooks were to prepare tongues every day of the ceremony.¹ Either on the night of the whistler's entrance or on the following day, young men distinguished for their war record took long poles, sharpened at one end, and painted yellow rings around them at different levels. These poles they stuck into the lodge, pointing them at the cook. If a man was really a noted warrior, those inside impaled a tongue on the stick; the warrior took it outside and presented it to his sweetheart. Another informant said that the warrior's sticks were painted red. When the young men stuck in their poles, someone first inquired, "Who is that?" If the person was not a pretender, he received a tongue. An especially eminent man, according to Bear-gets-up, would get two tongues.

During the cooking of the tongues on the first night of the whistler's entrance renowned men had their wives painted red and themselves painted according to their medicines. The women carried bundles of spoils secured by their husbands from the enemy. The distinguished men had the privilege of coming in from either side, but the first one entered on the right side. Their wives deposited guns and bows in front of their husbands and pointing toward the door. According to one version, one of the warriors would represent his exploits in battle, selecting four or five men to impersonate his own party and several others to play the part of the enemy. Then he ran round the lodge, pretending to kill four or five enemies. Other captains followed suit. However, according to Red-eye, the warriors merely *re-cited* their deeds. He says that they were supposed to walk toward the left when in the lodge. One man transgressed the rule on one occasion, but another took a branch, slapped the offender's face with the leaves, and said, "You are going the wrong way, people are going in the opposite direction."²

About this time those who desired to torture themselves in order to obtain visions suspended themselves by the breast or shoulder from the twenty poles of the lodge. Their bodies were daubed white all over. Sometimes there were two ropes hanging from each pole, and a correspondingly greater number of would-be visionaries. Those who did not find room to suspend themselves from the poles fixed forked posts with ropes outside the lodge and underwent the same mode of torture. Medicinemen or other famous tribesmen would assist these young men in their preparations on account of their power to get visions for them. A noted warrior would tell of his own deeds. Then he would say, "This man wishes to do

¹ Fire-weasel's wife said that a certain woman who also acted as cook in the tobacco dance served in the same capacity during the sun dance.

² Crane-bear puts the warriors' pantomime at a somewhat later time (see below).

what I did," and pierce his breast for him. Some tortured themselves by dragging through the camp as many as seven buffalo skulls attached to a skewer piercing their backs until the skulls tore loose. The self-torturers would begin with mortification of their bodies in the morning and release themselves at night. Then they would retire to little four-pole structures covered with leaves and brush, outside the lodge. According to Fire-weasel's wife, they would finally proclaim their visions, saying, for example, "I shall strike a coup with a coup stick in the next battle," "I am going to steal a bay horse," etc.

The whistler never tortured himself beyond fasting and not drinking any water, the period of his complete abstention beginning with his entrance. In this he was joined not only by the self-torturers, but also by the fire-tenders and, according to Muskrat, by a party of twenty young men, who stayed behind a willow screen erected near the door. Some informants set the number of fire-tenders at ten or more and seem to suggest that this office was filled by the members of the war party that sustained the loss of the whistler's relative.

As soon as the renowned men had come into the lodge and the tongues were cooked, the musicians sang their first song: "bîmāpéciwe, dā'ciri k-ōk'. birē'xe k'andit'ā'rarawa." ("Water weeds are your lodge poles. The drum (obj.) beat ye!") The doll owner took a whistle and began to dance. At the close of the song he put the whistle into the whistler's mouth, and the whistler himself then began to dance on the clay bed, making the dirt fly and continually gazing at the doll. At the first drum-beat the self-torturers, both inside and outside, began to run round their poles.

The first song was sung four times. Then a renowned man went to the door and mimicked his deeds against the enemy, went back to his place, and told about his deed in words. After he had sat down, the song was sung again eight times. Then a second man rose and told of his deeds, and so on until all had told theirs. The first night the number of renowned men was only about six; there certainly were not so many as ten. Eight songs were continued for all the deed-tellers. When all deeds had been told, the doll owner beat a rattle and sang a song, which was taken up by the musicians. Standing behind the whistler, he removed his robe, slowly untying the belt, and laid it down, with the hairy side up. After motioning four times with his hands, he removed the whistle from the whistler's mouth, untied his skunkskin necklace, and laid both on the robe. The drums were beating, and the singing continued all the time. Next the doll owner removed the plume from the whistler's head, took off the left moccasin and laid it down by the robe, then removed and placed the right moccasin on the same side,

both toes facing the door.¹ The whistle, necklace, and plume were then picked up and tied to the doll, as was the owner's rattle to the cedar.

While being undressed, the whistler continued to stand facing the doll. The plumes were taken from his little fingers, then he was seized by the right arm and made to face the door. The doll owner took him by the thumbs, made him lie down on his bed, and covered him with a robe up to the neck. As soon as the whistler caught sight of the doll, he began again to gaze at it. At the foot of the bed a hole was dug in the ground, charcoal was put in, and ground-cedar leaves were smoked there.

Now the whistler went to sleep, and all the people went away. No one except the fasters were permitted to come near the lodge. The fasters' beds, patterned on the whistler's, were made by their relatives, of ground-cedar and scented sagebrush. The doll owner couple went home and called a crier, whom they ordered to rouse the camp before dawn.

THE CONSUMMATION OF THE CEREMONY.

Early before dawn the crier proclaimed: "Our friend has been lying on his back for a long time. Get up and eat!"² All the young people of both sexes now began to paint and dress in their best clothes. The musicians ate their breakfast and proceeded directly to the lodge, where they began to sing. The doll owner was as yet at home, bathing, resting, or combing his wife. The people were waiting for him to prepare the whistler. When he was ready, he walked slowly toward the lodge, stopped and looked round for a while, and finally slowly took a seat with his wife amidst the beating of drums. The people made a rush as soon as they noticed the doll owner's exit because they wished to watch his performance. White clay, scented sagebrush, and cedar leaves had been prepared; the clay was soaked in water and the woman laid it before her husband, who began to smoke. His wife used a buffalo shoulderblade to scoop buffalo chips into the pit at the foot of the whistler's bed. The large fire in the center had gone out, but had been renewed by a fire-tender before the doll owner's entrance that day. Now the woman built a fire in the pit, throwing in

¹ This seems inconsistent with a statement by the same informant, that the whistler wore no moccasins while dancing, and that the moccasins are put on his feet before he goes to sleep.

² In another version the old people are made to rouse the doll owner, saying, "Your comrade has been lying down for a long time." (*dī'rapā'tse kàrazapē' cī'Ek'.*)

cedar leaves for incense, while her husband was smoking a straight-pipe.¹ The doll owner put some ground-cedar branches below the whistler's feet. To the singing (of the musicians?) he smoked his hand and pretended to remove his ward's robe three times. The fourth time he actually took off the robe, smoked it, and let it lie as on the previous day. After laying down the robe, he removed the right moccasin, smoked it, removed the left moccasin, and laid both down as before.²

While the doll owner was preparing the whistler, the other fasters might do as they pleased, sit up or lie down. Those who had not torn loose might be still running round, while some who had dragged buffalo skulls attached to their backs began to come into camp.

The doll owner raised the whistler to his feet, holding him by his thumbs. The whistler tried to limber his legs, nearly fell from weakness, but was supported by the doll owner. He stepped on the ground-cedar and was then turned round to face the white clay prepared in a cup.

The singers continued to sing. The doll owner made three motions, and the fourth time put his hand into the cup. Then he made three motions toward the whistler's person, and the fourth time touched him from the top of his head down to his feet, then on the sides and back of his body as before. Dipping his hands into the clay, he daubed it all over the whistler's body. Standing back a little, he painted any spot that was not yet daubed. He made a cross on the front and back of the whistler's body. He made three motions for the head-plume, the fourth time he smoked it and put the plume and skunkskin on the whistler. Then he smoked and tied the plumes for the little fingers. Taking the whistle, he daubed it, took it into his own mouth, and danced alongside of the whistler, who did not dance at this time. Taking the whistle out of his own mouth he put it into the whistler's. Then the drumming stopped. The whistler stood still. Yells of excitement were heard: "He is going to start to dance!" Famous men who had painted up for the occasion now came in; their number was not fixed.

The doll owner sat down and smoked. On the right-hand side for one facing the rear there was a crowd, while on the left there were only a few relatives. When ready the musicians sang a song, the whistler only moving the upper part of his body and his hands. Women joined in the singing. They repeated the first song sung in the preparatory tipi. The renowned men on the right side began to have a sham battle against the warriors on the left side, one party representing the Crow, the other the enemy. Two

¹ It seems that this pipe had been deposited by the whistler's side. The whistler himself was not allowed to smoke after entering the lodge.

² This confirms the version that the whistler danced in his bare feet and had his moccasins put on when going to bed (see p. 46).

women in charge of the tongues began to cook. They wore ground-cedar crowns and a kilt made of the skin of a spring calf (*nā'xape*) with the hair side out.

At the first song the whistler only danced slowly, at the second a little faster, in the third words were sung and the whistler's heels began to move. The words were:—

“*irā'ricirīE k'arahū'k'.*” (“What you dance for, has come.”) This sentence is past in form, but prophetic in meaning.

When the fourth song was started, the whistler danced as hard as possible. He did not blow his whistle purposely, but his panting produced an automatic blowing of the whistle. The singers went on till they were tired out, then they stopped drumming and the sham battle also ceased. Three or four of the warriors told about their deeds, then they started in again. The drummers beat the drum for every sentence uttered by the deed-reciters. During the sham fight shots were fired by the mock fighters without regard to the whistler, and after their performance their fathers' clansmen sang songs of joy and received gifts of horses.

The drum only stopped four times during the day. Between the second and third, or third and fourth stops the whistler's relatives brought in robes, etc., as gifts for the doll owner and piled them up, horses being of course kept outside.

After the third song they smoked. Then came the fourth song. The whistler was expected to dance as long as the musicians continued to sing. When he was very tired, the men singers would stop, wishing to give him a rest, but the women wanted to exhaust him and sang the first song over again. Thus they forced him to go on dancing. This song was repeated twenty times. At the end of this period of singing the dancer was completely tired out. He went crazy.¹ He imagined that the doll was directly between his eyes, went out of his head, and fell back panting. The people cried: “Leave him alone! Don't touch him!” The shaman waited to see on which side the whistler was to fall and then whirled his rattle over him till the panting subsided. In the meantime the other fasters were lying down. The doll owner dragged the whistler to his bed.

In the foregoing account (as in most other versions) the assumption is made that the whistler saw a vision the day after his entrance. This, of course, was not uniformly the case. According to Crane-bear, Big-shadow fasted as long as ten days before he received the desired revelation, but Bear-gets-up says it took only six, and One-horn gave three days and two nights as the longest period of fasting he could remember. On the other

¹ One informant used the ordinary word for “demented” (*warū'āze*) in this connection; another the word for “intoxicated” (*kū'xutsēk*).

hand, a whistler tutored by Iā'kac did not have to wait for a vision because a Piegan who had entered the camp was killed on the first night of the sun dance proper (see p. 7).¹ In the absence of such unusual occurrences the whistler was under obligations to wait for a supernatural communication and was not expected to terminate the ceremony arbitrarily. This is illustrated by the story of White-spot-on-his-neck. This Crow had only danced for one night, when he became exhausted and famished from the excessive heat, tore off his sun dance paraphernalia, and rushed for water though he had not yet received a vision. This was simply due to the fact that he had not danced for a long-enough time, for the doll then used was the famous one that had never failed, which afterwards passed into the hands of Pretty-enemy and was ultimately purchased by the present writer. Accordingly, it was unjustifiable for the whistler to stop the dance. The next day the Crow moved towards the Bighorn. All had forebodings of evil. Then the Sioux came upon them, and White-spot-on-his-neck, who was chief, lost eleven young men and one woman, the loss being imputed to his actions at the sun dance.

Misfortune was also invited when a spurious doll was used, a doll, that is to say, of which the manufacture was based on a pretended revelation. In one such case, witnessed by Gray-bull and referred to by other informants; all the guns taken from the enemy had been placed in a ring. They were all supposed to be uncharged, but suddenly one gun went off. The bullet first grazed the buffalo skull, then it struck and killed the whistler's wife. From this the Indians inferred that the doll was not genuine.

Some whistlers had their vision while falling, others would go home and get a vision that very night,² one man had a vision both in the lodge and afterwards at home. The whistler did not announce his vision directly, but would say, "I think it will be well, and I shall have revenge." Most of the whistlers told of what they had seen just before starting out on the campaign of vengeance, some (though this happened rarely) made the announcement after the enemy had been killed in retaliation.

For reasons stated, no first-hand account of the vision could be obtained. During the dance the onlookers watched both the whistler and the doll. Whenever the warriors lied about their exploits, the doll winked its eyes. "We looked at the doll," said Bear-gets-up, "and as we looked at it, it changed." When a whistler saw a lot of his enemies killed in a vision, it was the doll that showed them to him as he was dancing back and forth in

¹ This was considered the greatest thing that ever happened, and Iā'kac accordingly ranked as the foremost of doll owners. (Crane-bear.)

² This seems inconsistent with the view that the ceremony terminates only with the vision.

front of it. Some saw the entire body of an enemy in front of the doll, with his scalp removed from his head. According to one informant, the whistler prayed to the doll, saying, "I am poor, I put up the lodge in order to kill an enemy soon." The dancer's trance seems to have resulted automatically in some instances, while in others special treatment by the doll owner was required. In the latter case the doll owner was approached by some of the whistler's relatives and paid to put him into the desired condition; sometimes they felt that it would be more beneficial to prolong the period of fasting and would defer this step. In attempting to induce the vision, the owner took a rattle, approached the doll, made incense of cedar leaves, and made the whistler smoke himself with it. Then he ordered him to look at the doll, while he himself took a seat at the foot of the pole to which the doll was suspended. He shook the post and looked at the whistler, who began to dance, riveting his eyes on the doll, while the owner began to chant his songs. After a while, the dancer saw the doll painting its face black, and promising that he should kill an enemy at such a season of the year and under such circumstances. Suddenly, the whistler ceased to dance, and fell down in a swoon, his eyes still fixed on the doll.

When the immediate object of the sun dance,— the whistler's vision — had been attained, each person inside the lodge received a tongue, and all went homeward, including the fasters. The doll owner smoked until all were gone, then laid down the pipe, removed all the whistler's paraphernalia, and smoked each article in turn. He smoked the whistler's robe, and put it on him, whereupon the whistler went home, sometimes supported by some relatives on account of his weakness. The gifts offered to the owner were taken to his lodge, where he distributed them. The owner took the doll from the hoop and carried it to his lodge. Later some relative of the whistler's came in, took the hoop, and offered it to the sun in some exposed place, such as the top of the lodge poles. The lodge was left standing to fall a prey to the elements.

If the self-torturers had broken loose before the time of the whistler's vision, they waited till the close of the dance before touching their ropes. Those who were still hanging were released by their respective medicinemen, who first recited one of their own deeds. Little boys would take down the ropes, and their owners took them home.

With the close of the ceremony ended the doll owner's dictatorial power. The camp chief resumed his normal functions, and the people moved toward the enemy to see the promise of the vision fulfilled.

